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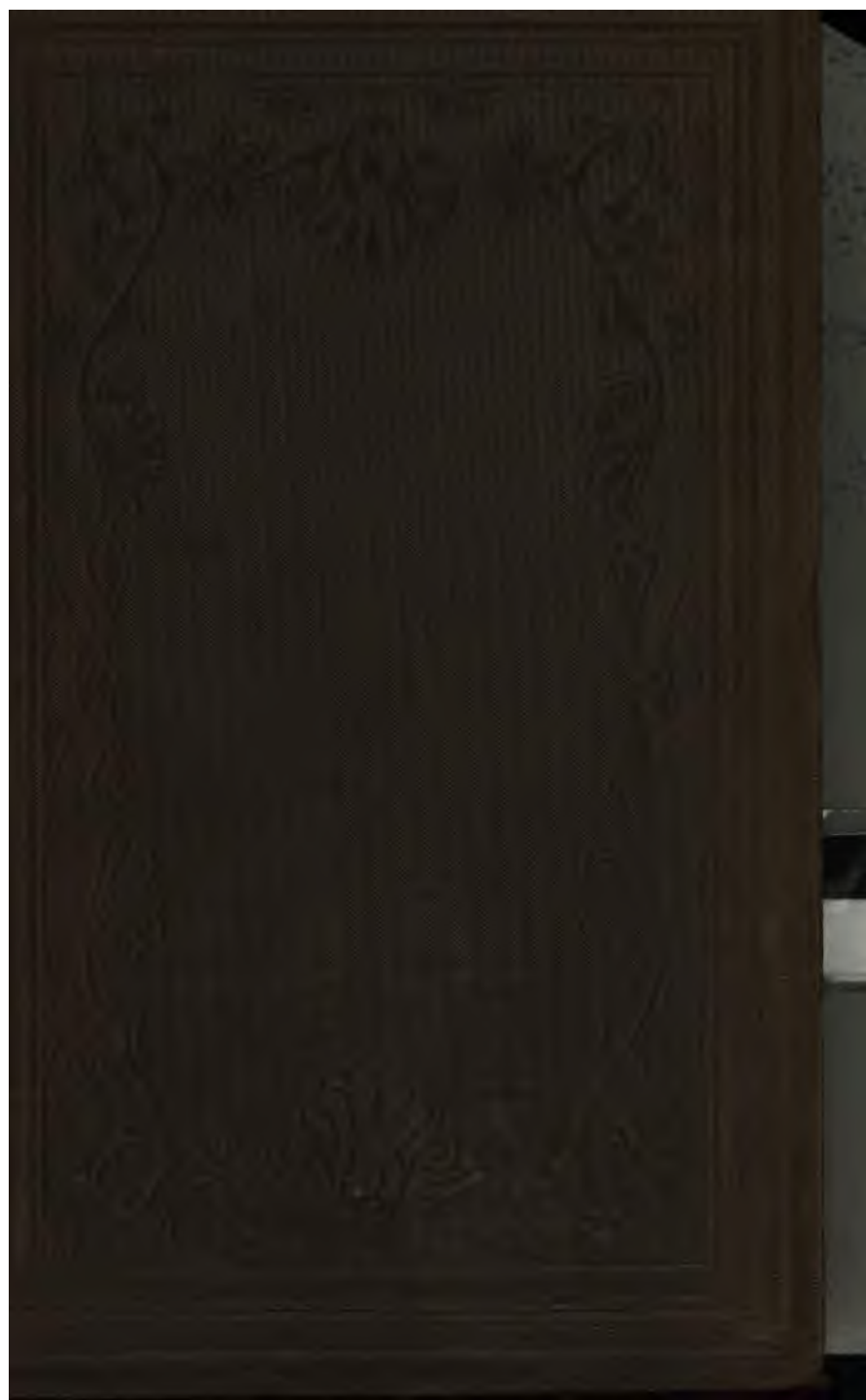
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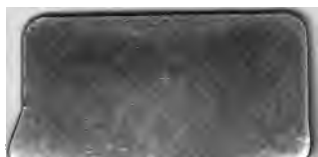
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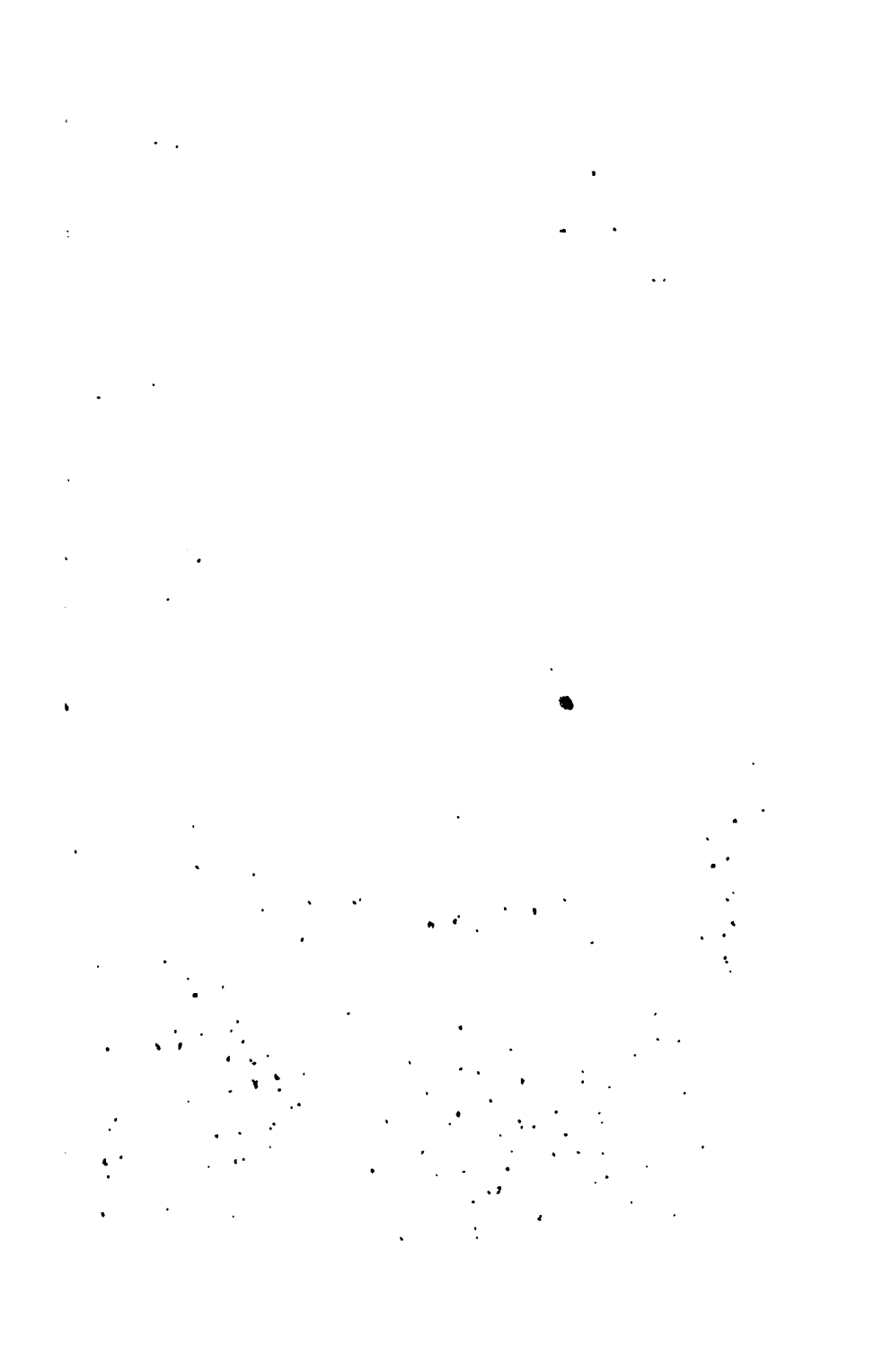
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THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR TO THE END OF THE
REIGN OF GEORGE II.

BY HUME AND SMOLLETT.

WITH
THE CONTINUATION,
FROM THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE III.
TO THE
ACCESSION OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

BY THE REV. T. S. HUGHES, B.D.
LATE CANON OF PETERBOROUGH.

ALSO,
COPIOUS NOTES, THE AUTHOR'S LAST CORRECTIONS,
IMPROVEMENTS, AND ENLARGEMENT.

With Historical Illustrations, Autographs, and Portraits.

A NEW EDITION.

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"Histories," says Lord Bacon, "make men wise:" and in proportion as their minds are influenced by a natural love of their country, so must they feel a desire to become familiar with the most authentic account of its origin, its progress towards civilization, and the circumstances leading to its present importance in the scale of nations.



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THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

BY
TOBIAS SMOLLETT, M.D.

FROM THE REVOLUTION IN 1688 TO THE DEATH OF
GEORGE THE SECOND IN 1760.

A.D. 1706 TO A.D. 1741.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

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ANNE (CONTINUED).—1706.

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1. WHILE this treaty was on the carpet at home, the allied arms prospered surprisingly in the Netherlands, in Spain, and in Piedmont. The French king had resolved to

make very considerable efforts in these countries; and, indeed, at the beginning of the campaign his armies were very formidable: he hoped that by the reduction of Turin and Barcelona the war would be extinguished in Italy and Catalonia: he knew that he could outnumber any body of forces that prince Louis of Baden should assemble on the Rhine; and he resolved to reinforce his army in Flanders, so as to be in a condition to act offensively against the duke of Marlborough. This nobleman repaired to Holland in the latter end of April, and conferred with the States-General: then he assembled the army between Borschloen and Gros-Waren, and found it amounted to seventy-four battalions of foot, and 123 squadrons of horse and dragoons, well furnished with artillery and pontoons: the court of France having received intelligence that the Danish and Prussian troops had not yet joined the confederates, ordered the elector of Bavaria and the marshal de Villeroy to attack them before the junction could be effected: in pursuance of this order they passed the Deule on the nineteenth of May, and posted themselves at Tirlemont, being superior in number to the allied army: there they were joined by the horse of the army, commanded by marshal Marsin, and encamped between Tirlemont and Judoigne. On Whitsunday, early in the morning, the duke of Marlborough advanced with his army in eight columns towards the village of Ramillies, being by this time joined by the Danes; and he learned that the enemy were in march to give him battle: next day the French generals, perceiving the confederates so near them, took possession of a strong camp, the right extending to the tomb of Hautemont, on the side of the Mehaigne; their left to Anderkirk; and the village of Ramillies being near their centre: the confederate army was drawn up in order of battle, with the right wing near Foltz on the brook of Yause, and the left by the village of Franquénies, which the enemy had occupied. The duke ordered lieutenant-general Schultz, with twelve battalions and twenty pieces of cannon, to begin the action, by attacking Ramillies, which was strongly fortified with artillery: at the same time velt-mareschal d'Auverquerque, on the left, commanded colonel Wertmüller, with four battalions and two pieces of cannon, to dislodge the enemy's infantry posted among the hedges of Franquénies: both these orders were successfully executed: the Dutch and Danish horse of the left wing charged with great vigor and intrepidity, but were so roughly handled by the troops of the

French king's household, that they began to give way; when the duke of Marlborough sustained them with the body of reserve, and twenty squadrons drawn from the right, where a morass prevented them from acting: in the mean time, he in person rallied some of the broken squadrons, in order to renew the charge; when his own horse falling, he was surrounded by the enemy, and must have been either killed or taken prisoner, had not a body of infantry come seasonably to his relief: when he remounted his horse, the head of colonel Brienfield, his gentleman of the horse, was carried off by a cannon-ball while he held the duke's stirrup. Before the reinforcement arrived, the best part of the French mousquetaires were cut in pieces; all the troops posted in Ramillies were either killed or taken: the rest of the enemy's infantry began to retreat in tolerable order, under cover of the cavalry on their left wing, which formed themselves in three lines between Ossuz and Anderkirk; but the English horse, having found means to pass the rivulet which divided them from the enemy, fell on them with such impetuosity, that they abandoned their foot, and were terribly slaughtered in the village of Anderkirk: they now gave way on all sides: the horse fled three different ways; but were so closely pursued that very few escaped: the elector of Bavaria and the marshal de Villeroy saved themselves with the utmost difficulty: several waggons of the enemy's vanguard breaking down in a narrow pass, obstructed the way in such a manner, that the baggage and artillery could not proceed; nor could their troops defile in order: the victorious horse, being informed of this accident, pressed on them so vigorously, that great numbers threw down their arms and submitted: the pursuit was followed through Judoigne till two o'clock in the morning, five leagues from the field of battle, and within two of Louvain. In a word, the confederates obtained a complete victory: they took the enemy's baggage and artillery, about 120 colors or standards, 600 officers, 6000 private soldiers; and about 8000 were killed or wounded.⁸ Prince Maximilian and prince Mon-

⁸ The French impute the loss of this battle to the misconduct of Villeroy, who, it must be owned, made a most wretched disposition: when he returned to Versailles, where he expected to meet with nothing but reproaches, Louis received him without the least mark of displeasure, saying, 'Mr. Marshal, you and I are too old to be fortunate.'

bason lost their lives; the major-general Palavicini and Mezieres were taken, together with the marquises de Bar, de Nonant, and de la Beaume, this last the son of the marshal de Tallard; Monsieur de Montmorency, nephew to the duke of Luxemburg, and many other persons of distinction: the loss of the allies did not exceed 3000 men, including prince Louis of Hesse, and Mr. Bentinck, who were slain in the engagement: the French generals retired with precipitation to Brussels, while the allies took possession of Louvain, and next day encamped at Bethlem. The battle of Ramillies was attended with the immediate conquest of all Brabant: the cities of Louvain, Mechlin, Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges submitted without resistance, and acknowledged king Charles: Ostend, though secured by a strong garrison, was surrendered after a siege of ten days: Menin, esteemed the most finished fortification in the Netherlands, and guarded by 6000 men, met with the same fate: the garrison of Dendermond surrendered themselves prisoners of war; and Ath submitted on the same conditions. The French troops were dispirited: the city of Paris was overwhelmed with consternation: Louis affected to bear his misfortunes with calmness and composure; but the constraint had such an effect on his constitution, that his physicians thought it necessary to prescribe frequent bleeding, which he accordingly underwent: at his court no mention was made of military transactions; all was solemn, silent, and reserved.

2. Had the issue of the campaign in Catalonia been such as the beginning seemed to prognosticate, the French king might have in some measure consoled himself for his disgraces in the Netherlands. On the sixth of April king Philip, at the head of a numerous army, undertook the siege of Barcelona, while the count de Toulouse blocked it up with a powerful squadron: the inhabitants, animated by the presence of king Charles, made a vigorous defence; and the garrison was reinforced with some troops from Gironne and other places: but after the fort of Montjuic was taken, the place was so hard pressed, that Charles ran the utmost risk of falling into the hands of the enemy; for the earl of Peterborough, who had marched from Valencia with 2000 men, found it impracticable to enter the city; nevertheless, he maintained his post on the hills, and with surprising courage and activity kept the besiegers in continual alarm: at length, Sir John Leake sailed from Lisbon with thirty

ships of the line, and on the eighth of May arrived in sight of Barcelona: the French admiral no sooner received intelligence of his approach, than he set sail for Toulon: in three days after his departure, king Philip abandoned the siege, and retired in great disorder, leaving behind his tents, with the sick and wounded. On the side of Portugal the duke of Berwick was left with such an inconsiderable force as proved insufficient to defend the frontiers: the earl of Galway, with an army of 20,000 men, undertook the siege of Alcantara; and in three days the garrison, consisting of 4000 men, were made prisoners of war: then he marched to Placentia, and advanced as far as the bridge of Almaris; but the Portuguese would penetrate no farther until they should know the fate of Barcelona: when they understood the siege was raised, they consented to proceed to Madrid. Philip, guessing their intention, posted to that capital, and sent his queen with all his valuable effects to Burgos, whither he followed her in person, after having destroyed every thing that he could not carry away: about the latter end of June the earl of Galway entered the city without resistance; but the Spaniards were extremely mortified to see an army of Portuguese, headed by a heretic, in possession of their capital. King Charles loitered away his time in Barcelona, until his competitor recovered his spirits, and received such reinforcements, as enabled him to return to Madrid with an army equal to that commanded by the earl of Galway: this general made a motion towards Arragon, in order to facilitate his conjunction with Charles, who had set out by the way of Saragossa, where he was acknowledged as sovereign of Arragon and Valencia: in the beginning of August this prince arrived at the Portuguese camp with a small reinforcement, and in a few days was followed by the earl of Peterborough, at the head of 500 dragoons: the two armies were now pretty equal in point of number; but as each expected farther reinforcements, neither chose to hazard an engagement: the earl of Peterborough, who aspired to the chief command, and hated the prince of Lichtenstein, who enjoyed the confidence of king Charles, retired in disgust; and, embarking on board an English ship of war, set sail for Genoa. The English fleet continued all the summer in the Mediterranean: they secured Carthage, which had declared for Charles; they took the town of Alicant by assault, and the castle by capitulation: then sailing out of the Straits, one squadron was detached to the West-Indies,

another to lie at Lisbon, and the rest were sent home to England.

3. Fortune was not more propitious to the French in Italy than in Flanders: the duke de Vendome having been recalled to assume the command in Flanders after the battle of Ramillies, the duke of Orleans was placed at the head of the army in Piedmont, under the tutorage and direction of the marshal de Marsin: they were ordered to besiege Turin, which was accordingly invested in the month of May: and the operations were carried on till the beginning of September. Great preparations had been made for this siege: it was not undertaken until the duke of Savoy had rejected all the offers of the French monarch, which were sufficient to have shaken a prince of less courage and fortitude: the duke de la Feuillade having finished the lines of circumvallation and contravallation, sent his quarter-master general with a trumpet, to offer passports and a guard for the removal of the duchess and her children: the duke of Savoy replied, that he did not intend to remove his family, and that the marshal might begin to execute his master's orders whenever he should think fit; but when the siege began with uncommon fury, and the French fired red-hot balls into the place, the two duchesses, with the young prince and princesses, quitted Turin, and retired to Quierasco, from whence they were conducted through many dangers into the territories of Genoa: the duke himself forsook his capital, in order to put himself at the head of his cavalry; and was pursued from place to place by five-and-forty squadrons, under the command of the count D'Aubeterre. Notwithstanding the very noble defence which was made by the garrison of Turin, which destroyed 14,000 of the enemy during the course of the siege, the defences were almost ruined, their ammunition began to fail, and they had no prospect of relief but from prince Eugene, who had numberless difficulties to encounter before he could march to their assistance. The duke de Vendome, before he left Italy, had secured all the fords of the Adige, the Mincio, and the Oglio, and formed such lines and intrenchments as he imagined would effectually hinder the imperial general from arriving in time to relieve the city of Turin: but the prince surmounted all opposition; passed four great rivers in despite of the enemy; and reached the neighborhood of Turin on the thirteenth of August: there being joined by the duke of Savoy, he passed the Po between Montcallier and Cavignan: on the

fifth of September they took a convoy of 800 loaded mules : next day they passed the Doria, and encamped with the right on the bank of that river before Pianessa, and the left on Stura before the Veneria : the enemy were intrenched, having the Stura on their right, the Doria on their left, and the convent of Capuchins, called Nôtre Dame de la Campagne, in their centre. When prince Eugene approached Turin, the duke of Orleans proposed to march out of the intrenchments, and give him battle ; and this proposal was seconded by all the general officers except Marsin, who, finding the duke determined, produced an order from the French king commanding the duke to follow the marshal's advice : the court of Versailles was now become afraid of hazarding an engagement against those who had so often defeated their armies ; and this officer had private instructions to keep within the trenches. On the seventh of September, the confederates marched up to the intrenchments of the French in eight columns, through a terrible fire from forty pieces of artillery, and were formed in order of battle within half cannon-shot of the enemy : then they advanced to the attack with surprising resolution, and met with such a warm reception as seemed to stop their progress : prince Eugene, perceiving this check, drew his sword, and putting himself at the head of the battalions on the left, forced the intrenchments at the first charge : the duke of Savoy met with the same success in the centre, and on the right near Lucengo : the horse advanced through the intervals of the foot, left for that purpose ; and breaking in with vast impetuosity, completed the confusion of the enemy, who were defeated on all hands, and retired with precipitation to the other side of the Po, while the duke of Savoy entered his capital in triumph. The duke of Orleans exhibited repeated proofs of the most intrepid courage, and received several wounds in the engagement : marshal de Marsin fell into the hands of the victors, his thigh being shattered with a ball, and died in a few hours after the amputation : of the French army about 5000 men were slain on the field of battle ; a great number of officers, and upwards of 7000 men were taken, together with 255 pieces of cannon, 180 mortars, an incredible quantity of ammunition, all the tents and baggage, 5000 beasts of burden, 10,000 horses belonging to thirteen regiments of dragoons, and the mules of the commissary-general so richly laden, that this part of the booty alone was valued at 3,000,000 of livres : the loss of the confederates did

not exceed 3000 men killed or disabled in the action, besides about the same number at the garrison of Turin, which had fallen since the beginning of the siege. This was such a fatal stroke to the interest of Louis, that Madame de Maintenon would not venture to make him fully acquainted with the state of his affairs: he was told that the duke of Orleans had raised the siege of Turin at the approach of prince Eugene; but he knew not that his own army was defeated and ruined. The spirits of the French were a little comforted in consequence of an advantage gained, about this time, by the count de Medavi-grancey, who commanded a body of troops left in the Mantuan territories: he surprised the prince of Hesse in the neighborhood of Castiglione, and obliged him to retire to the Adige, with the loss of 2000 men; but this victory was attended with no consequence in their favor: the duke of Orleans retreated into Dauphiny, while the French garrisons were driven out of every place they occupied in Piedmont and Italy, except Cremona, Valenza, and the castle of Milan, which were blocked up by the confederates.

4. Over and above these disasters which the French sustained in the course of this campaign, they were miserably alarmed by the project of an invasion from Britain, formed by the marquis de Guiscard, who, actuated by a family disgust, had abandoned his country, and become a partisan of the confederates: he was declared a lieutenant-general in the emperor's army; and came over to London, after having settled a correspondence with the malcontents in the southern parts of France: he insinuated himself into the friendship of Henry St. John, secretary of war, and other persons of distinction. His scheme of invading France was approved by the British ministry, and he was promoted to the command of a regiment of dragoons destined for that service: about 11,000 men were embarked under the conduct of earl Rivers, with a large train of artillery; and the combined squadrons, commanded by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, set sail from Plymouth on the thirteenth of August: next day they were forced into Torbay by contrary winds, and there they held a council of war to concert their operation, when they discovered that Guiscard's plan was altogether chimerical, or at least founded on such slight assurances and conjectures, as could not justify their proceeding to execution. An express was immediately despatched to the admiralty with the result of this council; and in the mean time, letters arrived

at court from the earl of Galway, after his retreat from Madrid to Valencia, soliciting succors with the most earnest entreaties : the expedition to France was immediately postponed, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel was ordered to make the best of his way for Lisbon, there to take such measures as the state of the war in Spain should render necessary. Guiscard and his officers being set on shore, the fleet sailed with the first fair wind, and towards the latter end of October arrived at Lisbon : on the twenty-eighth of the next month the king of Portugal died ; and his eldest son and successor being but eighteen years of age, was even more than his father influenced by a ministry which had private connexions with the court of Versailles : nevertheless, Sir Cloudesley Shovel and earl Rivers, being pressed by letters from king Charles and the earl of Galway, sailed to their assistance in the beginning of January ; and on the twenty-eighth arrived at Alicant, from whence the earl of Rivers proceeded by land to Valencia, in order to assist at a general council of war. The operations of the ensuing campaign being concerted, and the army joined by the reinforcement from England, earl Rivers, disliking the country, returned with the admiral to Lisbon.

5. Poland was at length delivered from the presence of the king of Sweden, who in the beginning of September suddenly marched through Lusatia into Saxony, and in a little time laid that whole electorate under contribution : Augustus, being thus cut off from all resource, resolved to obtain peace on the Swede's own terms, and engaged in a secret treaty for this purpose : in the mean time the Poles and Muscovites attacked the Swedish forces at Kalish in Great Poland ; and by dint of numbers routed them with great slaughter : notwithstanding this event, Augustus ratified the treaty, by which he acknowledged Stanislaus as true and rightful king of Poland, reserving to himself no more than the empty title of sovereign. The confederates were not a little alarmed to find Charles in the heart of Germany, and the French court did not fail to court his alliance ; but he continued on the reserve against all their solicitations : then they implored his mediation for a peace ; and he answered, that he would interpose his good offices as soon as he should know they would be agreeable to the powers engaged in the grand alliance.

6. The pride of Louis was now humbled to such a degree

as might have excited the compassion of his enemies : he employed the elector of Bavaria to write letters in his name to the duke of Marlborough and the deputies of the States-General, containing proposals for opening a congress : he had already tampered with the Dutch, in a memorial presented by the marquis d'Alegre : he likewise besought the pope to interpose in his behalf : he offered to cede either Spain and the West-Indies, or Milan, Naples, and Sicily to king Charles ; to give up a barrier for the Dutch in the Netherlands ; and to indemnify the duke of Savoy for the ravages that had been committed in his dominions : though his real aim was peace, yet he did not despair of being able to excite such jealousies among the confederates as might shake the basis of their union. His hope was not altogether disappointed : the court of Vienna was so much alarmed at the offers he had made, and the reports circulated by his emissaries, that the emperor resolved to make himself master of Naples before the allies should have it in their power to close with the proposals of France : this was the true motive of his concluding a treaty with Louis in the succeeding winter, by which the Milanese was intirely evacuated, and the French king at liberty to employ those troops in making strong efforts against the confederates in Spain and the Netherlands : the Dutch were intoxicated with success, and their pensionary, Heinsius, intirely influenced by the duke of Marlborough, who found his account in the continuance of the war, which at once gratified his avarice and ambition ; for all his great qualities were obscured by the sordid passion of accumulating wealth. During the whole war the allies never had such an opportunity as they now enjoyed to bridle the power of France effectually, and secure the liberties of the empire ; and indeed, if their real design was to establish an equal balance between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, it could not have been better effected than by dividing the Spanish monarchy between these two potentates : the accession of Spain, with all its appendages, to either, would have destroyed the equilibrium which the allies proposed to establish : but other motives contributed to a continuation of the war : the powers of the confederacy were fired with the ambition of making conquests ; and England in particular thought herself entitled to an indemnification for the immense sums she had expended : animated by these concurring considerations, queen Anne and the States-General

rejected the offers of France, and declared, that they would not enter into any negotiation for peace, except in concert with their allies.

7. The tories of England began to meditate schemes of opposition against the duke of Marlborough : they looked on him as a selfish nobleman, who sacrificed the interest of the nation, in protracting a ruinous war for his own private advantage : they saw their country oppressed with an increasing load of taxes, which they apprehended would in a little time become an intolerable burden ; and they did not doubt but at this period such terms might be obtained as would fully answer the great purpose of the confederacy : this indeed was the prevailing opinion among all the sensible people of the nation who were not particularly interested in the prosecution of the war, either by being connected with the general, or in some shape employed in the management of the finances : the tories were likewise instigated by a party-spirit against Marlborough, who, by means of his wife, was in full possession of the queen's confidence, and openly patronised the whig faction. But the attention of people in general was now turned on the Scottish parliament, which took into consideration the treaty of union lately concluded between the commissioners of both kingdoms : on the third of October, the duke of Queensbury, as high-commissioner, produced the queen's letter, in which she expressed her hope that the terms of the treaty would be acceptable to her parliament of Scotland : she said, an intire and perfect union would be the solid foundation of a lasting peace ; it would secure their religion, liberty, and property, remove the animosity that prevailed among themselves, and the jealousies that subsisted between the two nations ; it would increase their strength, riches, and commerce ; the whole island would be joined in affection, and free from all apprehensions of different interests ; it would be enabled to resist all its enemies, support the protestant interest every where, and maintain the liberties of Europe : she renewed her assurance of maintaining the government of their church ; and told them, that now they had an opportunity of taking such steps as might be necessary for its security after the union : she demanded the necessary supplies : she observed, that the great success with which God Almighty had blessed her arms afforded the nearer prospect of a happy peace, with which they would enjoy the full advantages of this union ; that they had no reason to doubt

but the parliament of England would do all that should be necessary on their part to confirm the union: finally, she recommended calmness and unanimity in deliberating on this great and weighty affair, of such consequence to the whole island of Great Britain.

8. Hitherto the articles of the union had been industriously concealed from the knowledge of the people; but the treaty being recited in parliament, and the particulars divulged, such a flame was kindled through the whole nation as had not appeared since the restoration: the cavaliers or Jacobites had always foreseen that this union would extinguish all their hopes of a revolution in favor of a pretender; the nobility found themselves degraded in point of dignity and influence, by being excluded from their seats in parliament; the trading part of the nation beheld their commerce saddled with heavy duties and restrictions, and considered the privilege of trading to the English plantations as a precarious and uncertain prospect of advantage; the barons, or gentlemen, were exasperated at a coalition, by which their parliament was annihilated, and their credit destroyed; the people in general exclaimed, that the dignity of their crown was betrayed; that the independency of their nation had fallen a sacrifice to treachery and corruption; that whatever conditions might be speciously offered, they could not expect they would be observed by a parliament in which the English had such a majority: they exaggerated the dangers to which the constitution of their church would be exposed from a bench of bishops and a parliament of episcopalians: this consideration alarmed the presbyterian ministers to such a degree, that they employed all their power and credit in waking the resentment of their hearers against the treaty, which produced a universal ferment among all ranks of people: even the most rigid puritans joined the cavaliers in expressing their detestation of the union; and, laying aside their mutual animosities, promised to co-operate in opposing a measure so ignominious and prejudicial to their country. In parliament the opposition was headed by the dukes of Hamilton and Athol, and the marquis of Annandale: the first of these noblemen had wavered so much in his conduct, that it is difficult to ascertain his real political principles: he was generally supposed to favor the claim of the pretender; but he was afraid of embarking too far in his cause, and avoided violent measures in the discussion of this treaty, lest he should incur the resentment of the English parliament, and

forfeit the estate he possessed in that kingdom : Athol was more forward in his professions of attachment to the court of St. Germain; but he had less ability, and his zeal was supposed to have been inflamed by resentment against the ministry. The debates on the different articles of the treaty were carried on with great heat and vivacity; and many shrewd arguments were used against this scheme of an incorporating union: one member affirmed, that it would furnish a handle to any aspiring prince to overthrow the liberties of all Britain; for if the parliament of Scotland could alter, or rather subvert its constitution, this circumstance might be a precedent for the parliament of Great Britain to assume the same power: that the representatives for Scotland would, from their poverty, depend on those who possessed the means of corruption; and having expressed so little concern for the support of their own constitution, would pay very little regard to that of any other. 'What!' said the duke of Hamilton, 'shall we in half an hour give up what our forefathers maintained with their lives and fortunes for many ages? Are here none of the descendants of those worthy patriots, who defended the liberty of their country against all invaders; who assisted the great king Robert Bruce to restore the constitution and revenge the falsehood of England and the usurpation of Baliol? Where are the Douglasses and Campbells? Where are the peers, where are the barons, once the bulwark of the nation? Shall we yield up the sovereignty and independence of our country, when we are commanded by those we represent to preserve the same, and assured of their assistance to support us?' The duke of Athol protested against an incorporating union, as contrary to the honor, interest, fundamental laws, and constitution of the kingdom of Scotland, the birthright of the peers, the rights and privileges of the barons and boroughs, and to the claim of right, property, and liberty of the subjects: to this protest nineteen peers and forty-six commoners adhered. The earl marshal entered a protest, importing, that no person, being successor to the crown of England, should inherit that of Scotland without such previous limitations as might secure the honor and sovereignty of the Scottish crown and kingdom, the frequency and power of parliament, the religion, the liberty, and trade of the nation, from English or any foreign influence: he was seconded by six-and-forty members. With regard to the third article of the union, stipu-

lating that both kingdoms should be represented by one and the same parliament, the country party observed, that by assenting to this expedient, they did in effect sink their own constitution, while that of England underwent no alteration; that in all nations there are fundamentals, which no power whatever can alter; that the rights and privileges of parliament being one of these fundamentals among the Scots, no parliament or any other power could ever legally prohibit the meeting of parliaments, or deprive any of the three estates of its right of sitting or voting in parliament, or give up the rights and privileges of parliament; but that by this treaty the parliament of Scotland was intirely abrogated, its rights and privileges sacrificed, and those of the English parliament substituted in their place: they argued, that though the legislative power in parliament was regulated and determined by a majority of voices; yet the giving up the constitution, with the rights and privileges of the nation, was not subject to suffrage, being founded on dominion and property; and therefore could not be legally surrendered without the consent of every person who had a right to elect and be represented in parliament: they affirmed that the obligation laid on the Scottish members to reside so long in London, in attendance on the British parliament, would drain Scotland of all its money, impoverish the members, and subject them to the temptation of being corrupted: another protest was entered by the marquis of Annandale against an incorporating union, as being odious to the people, subversive of the constitution, sovereignty, and claim of right, and threatening ruin to the church as by law established: fifty-two members joined in this protestation. Almost every article produced the most inflammatory disputes: the lord Belhaven enumerated the mischiefs which would attend the union, in a pathetic speech, that drew tears from the audience, and is at this day looked on as a prophecy by great part of the Scottish nation: addresses against the treaty were presented to parliament by the convention of boroughs, the commissioners of the general assembly, the company trading to Africa and the Indies, as well as from several shires, stewartries, boroughs, towns, and parishes in all the different parts of the kingdom, without distinction of whig or tory, episcopalian or presbyterian: the earl of Buchan for the peers, Lockhart of Carnwarth for the barons, Sir Walter Stuart in behalf of the peers, barons, and boroughs, the earls

of Errol and Marshal for themselves, as high-constable and earl-marshal of the kingdom, protested severally against the treaty of union.

9. While this opposition raged within doors, the resentment of the people rose to transports of fury and revenge: the more rigid presbyterians, known by the name of Cameronians, chose officers, formed themselves into regiments, provided horses, arms, and ammunition; and, marching to Dumfries, burned the articles of the union at the market-cross, justifying their conduct in a public declaration: they made a tender of their attachment to duke Hamilton, from whom they received encouragement in secret: they reconciled themselves to the episcopalians and the cavaliers: they resolved to take the route to Edinburgh, and dissolve the parliament; while the duke of Athol undertook to secure the pass of Stirling with his highlanders, so as to open the communication between the western and northern parts of the kingdom: 7000 or 8000 men were actually ready to appear in arms at the town of Hamilton, and march directly to Edinburgh, under the duke's command; when that nobleman altered his opinion, and despatched private couriers through the whole country, requiring the people to defer their meeting till farther directions: the more sanguine cavaliers accused his grace of treachery; but in all likelihood he was actuated by prudential motives: he alleged, in his own excuse, that the nation was not in a condition to carry on such an enterprise, especially as the English had already detached troops to the border, and might in a few days have wafted over a considerable reinforcement from Holland. During this commotion among the Cameronians, the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow were filled with tumults: Sir Patrick Johnston, provost of Edinburgh, who had been one of the commissioners for the union, was besieged in his own house by the populace, and would have been torn in pieces had not the guards dispersed the multitude: the privy-council issued a proclamation against riots, commanding all persons to retire from the streets whenever the drum should beat; ordering the guards to fire on those who should disobey this command; and indemnifying them from all prosecution for maiming or slaying the lieges: these guards were placed all round the house in which the peers and commons were assembled, and the council received the thanks of the parliament for having thus provided for their safety: notwithstanding these precautions of the government, the commissioner was constantly saluted

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with the curses and imprecations of the people, as he passed along; his guards were pelted, and some of his attendants wounded with stones as they sat by him in the coach; so that he was obliged to pass through the streets on full gallop.

10. Against all the national fury, the dukes of Queensbury and Argyle, the earls of Montrose, Seafeld, and Stair, and the other noblemen attached to the union, acted with equal prudence and resolution: they argued strenuously against the objections that were started in the house: they magnified the advantages that would accrue to the kingdom from the privileges of trading to the English plantations, and being protected in their commerce by a powerful navy; as well as from the exclusion of a popish pretender, who they knew was odious to the nation in general: they found means, partly by their promises and partly by corruption, to bring over the earls of Roxburgh and Marchmont, with the whole squadron who had hitherto been unpropitious to the court: they disarmed the resentment of the clergy, by promoting an act to be inserted in the union, declaring the presbyterian discipline to be the only government of the church of Scotland, unalterable in all succeeding times, and a fundamental article of the treaty: they soothed the African company with the prospect of being indemnified for the losses they had sustained: they amused individuals with the hope of sharing the rest of the equivalent: they employed emissaries to allay the ferment among the Cameronians, and disunite them from the cavaliers, by canting, praying, and demonstrating the absurdity, sinfulness, and danger of such a coalition: these remonstrances were reinforced by the sum of £20,000, which the queen privately lent to the Scottish treasury, and which was now distributed by the ministry in such a manner as might best conduce to the success of the treaty. By these practices they diminished, though they could not silence the clamor of the people, and obtained a considerable majority in parliament, which outvoted all opposition: not but that the duke of Queensbury at one time despaired of succeeding; and being in continual apprehension for his life, expressed a desire of adjourning the parliament, until by time and good management he should be able to remove those difficulties that then seemed to be insurmountable: but the lord-treasurer Godolphin, who foresaw that the measure would be intirely lost by delay, and was no judge of the difficulties, insisted on his pro-

ceeding : it was at this period that he remitted the money, and gave directions for having forces ready at a call, both in England and Ireland. At length the Scottish parliament approved and ratified all the articles of the union, with some small variation : they then prepared an act for regulating the election of the sixteen peers and forty-five commoners to represent Scotland in the British parliament : this being touched with the sceptre, the three estates proceeded to elect their representatives : the remaining part of the session was employed in making regulations concerning the coin, in examining the accounts of their African company, and providing for the due application of the equivalent, which was scandalously misapplied. On the twenty-fifth of March the commissioner adjourned the parliament, after having, in a short speech, taken notice of the honor they had acquired in concluding an affair of such importance to their country : having thus accomplished the great purpose of the court, he set out for London, in the neighborhood of which he was met by above forty noblemen in their coaches, and about 400 gentlemen on horseback : next day he waited on the queen at Kensington, from whom he met with a very gracious reception. Perhaps there is not another instance on record, of a ministry's having carried a point of this importance against such a violent torrent of opposition, and contrary to the general sense and inclination of a whole exasperated people : the Scots were persuaded that their trade should be destroyed, their nation oppressed, and their country ruined, in consequence of the union with England ; and indeed their opinion was supported by very plausible arguments : the majority of both nations believed that the treaty would produce violent convulsions, or, at best, prove ineffectual : but we now see it has been attended with none of the calamities that were prognosticated ; that it quietly took effect, and fully answered all the purposes for which it was intended : hence we may learn, that many great difficulties are surmounted, because they are not seen by those who direct the execution of any great project ; and that many schemes, which theory deems impracticable, will yet succeed in the experiment.

11. The English parliament assembling on the third of December, the queen, in her speech to both houses, congratulated them on the glorious successes of her arms : she desired the commons would grant such supplies as might enable her to improve the advantages of this successful cam-

paign : she told them that the treaty of union, as concluded by the commissioners of both kingdoms, was at that time under the consideration of the Scottish parliament ; and she recommended despatch in the public affairs, that both friends and enemies might be convinced of the firmness and vigor of their proceedings. The parliament was perfectly well disposed to comply with all her majesty's requests : warm addresses were presented by both houses : then they proceeded to the consideration of the supply ; and having examined the estimates in less than a week, voted near £6,000,000 for the service of the ensuing year : nevertheless, in examining the accounts, some objections arose : they found that the extraordinary supplies for the support of king Charles of Spain amounted to £800,000 more than the sums provided by parliament : some members argued that very ill consequences might ensue, if a ministry could thus run the nation in debt, and expect the parliament should pay the money : the courtiers answered, that if any thing had been raised without necessity, or ill applied, it was reasonable that those who were in fault should be punished ; but, as this expense was incurred to improve advantages, at a time when the occasion could not be communicated to parliament, the ministry was rather to be applauded for their zeal than condemned for their liberality : the question being put, the majority voted that those sums had been expended for the preservation of the duke of Savoy, for the interest of king Charles against the common enemy, and for the safety and honor of the nation. When the speaker presented the money-bills, he told her, that as the glorious victory obtained by the duke of Marlborough at Ramillies was fought before it could be supposed the armies were in the field, so it was no less surprising that the commons had granted supplies to her majesty before the enemy could well know that the parliament was sitting. The general was again honored with the thanks of both houses : the lords in an address besought the queen to settle his honors on his posterity : an act was passed for this purpose ; and, in pursuance of another address from the commons, a pension of £5000 out of the post-office was settled on him and his descendants. The lords and commons having adjourned themselves to the last of December, the queen closed the year with triumphal processions : as the standards and colors taken at Blenheim had been placed in Westminster-hall, so now those that had been brought from the field of Ramillies were put up in

Guildhall, as trophies of that victory. About this time, the earls of Kent, Lindsey, and Kingston were raised to the rank of marquises: the lords Wharton, Paulet, Godolphin, and Cholmondeley were created earls: lord Walden, son and heir-apparent to the earl of Suffolk, obtained the title of earl of Bindon; the lord keeper Cowper and Sir Thomas Pelham were ennobled as barons.

12. The parliament being assembled after their short recess, the earl of Nottingham moved for an address to the queen, desiring her majesty would order the proceedings of the commissioners for the union, as well as those of the Scottish parliament on the said subject, to be laid before them: he was seconded by the duke of Buckingham and the earl of Rochester; and answered by the earl of Godolphin, who told them they needed not doubt but that her majesty would communicate those proceedings, as soon as the Scottish parliament should have discussed the subject of the union: the lords Wharton, Somers, and Halifax observed that it was for the honor of the nation that the treaty of union should first come ratified from the parliament of Scotland; and that then, and not before, it would be a proper time for the lords to take it into consideration. On the twenty-eighth of January, the queen in person told both houses, that the treaty of union, with some additions and alterations, was ratified by an act of the Scottish parliament; that she had ordered it to be laid before them; and hoped it would meet with their concurrence and approbation: she desired the commons would provide for the payment of the equivalent, in case the treaty should be approved: she observed to both houses, that now they had an opportunity of putting the last hand to a happy union of the two kingdoms; and that she should look on it as a particular happiness, if this great work, which had been so often attempted without success, could be brought to perfection in her reign. When the commons formed themselves into a committee of the whole house to deliberate on the articles of the union and the Scottish act of ratification, the tory party, which was very weak in that assembly, began to start some objections: Sir John Packington disapproved of this incorporating union, which he likened to a marriage with a woman against her consent: he said it was a union carried on by corruption and bribery within doors, by force and violence without; that the promoters of it had basely betrayed their trust, in giving up their independent consti-

tution; and he would leave it to the judgment of the house, to consider whether or no men of such principles were fit to be admitted into their house of representatives: he observed that her majesty, by the coronation-oath, was obliged to maintain the church of England as by law established; and likewise bound by the same oath to defend the presbyterian kirk of Scotland in one and the same kingdom: 'now,' said he, 'after this union is in force, who shall administer this oath to her majesty? It is not the business of the Scots, who are incapable of it, and no well-wishers to the church of England: it is then only the part of the bishops to do it; and can it be supposed that those reverend persons will or can act a thing so contrary to their own order and institution, as thus to promote the establishment of the presbyterian church-government in the united kingdom?' He added, that the church of England being established *jure divino*, and the Scots pretending that the kirk was also *jure divino*, he could not tell how two nations that clashed in so essential an article could unite: he therefore thought it proper to consult the convocation about this critical point. A motion was made, that the first article of the treaty, which implies a peremptory agreement to an incorporating union, should be postponed; and that the house should proceed to the consideration of the terms of the intended union, contained in the other articles: this proposal being rejected, some tory members quitted the house; and all the articles were examined and approved without farther opposition: the whigs were so eager in the prosecution of this point, that they proceeded in a very superficial manner, and with such precipitation, as furnished their enemies with a plausible pretence to affirm that they had not considered the treaty with the coolness and deliberation which an affair of this importance required.

13. Before the lords began to investigate the articles of the union, they, at the instance of the archbishop of Canterbury, brought in a bill for the security of the church of England, to be inserted as a fundamental and essential part of that treaty: it passed through both houses without opposition, and received the royal assent. On the fifteenth of February the debates concerning the union began in the house of lords, the queen being present, and the bishop of Sarum chairman of the committee: the earls of Rochester, Anglesea, and Nottingham argued against the union, as did the bishop of Bath and Wells: lord Haversham, in a pre-

meditated harangue, said the question was, whether two nations independent in their sovereignties, that had their distinct laws and interests, their different forms of worship, church-government, and order, should be united into one kingdom: he supposed it a union made up of so many mismatched pieces, of such jarring, incongruous ingredients, that should it ever take effect, it would carry the necessary consequences of a standing power and force, to keep them from falling asunder and breaking in pieces every moment: he repeated what had been said by lord Bacon, that a unity pieced up by direct admission of contrarieties in the fundamental points of it, is like the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image, which were made of iron and clay; they may cleave together, but would never incorporate: he dissented from the union for the sake of the good old English constitution, in which he dreaded some alteration from the additional weight of sixty-one Scottish members, and these too returned by a Scottish privy-council: he took notice, that above 100 Scottish peers and as many commoners were excluded from sitting and voting in parliament, though they had as much right of inheritance to sit there as any English peer had of sitting in the parliament of England: he expressed his apprehension of this precedent; and asked what security any peer of England had for his right and privilege of peerage, which those lords had not: he said, if the bishops would weaken their own cause, so far as to give up the two great points of episcopal ordination and confirmation; if they would approve and ratify the act for securing the presbyterian church government in Scotland, as the true protestant religion and purity of worship; they must give up that which had been contended for between them and the presbyterians for thirty years, and been defended by the greatest and most learned men in the church of England: he objected to the exempting articles, by which heritable offices and superiorities were reserved: he affirmed that the union was contrary to the sense of the Scottish nation; that the murmurs of the people had been so loud as to fill the whole kingdom; and so bold as to reach even to the doors of the parliament: that the parliament itself had suspended their beloved clause in the act of security for arming the people; that the government had issued a proclamation pardoning all slaughter, bloodshed, and maiming committed on those who should be found in tumults: from these circumstances he concluded that the Scottish nation was averse to an incorporating

union, which he looked on as one of the most dangerous experiments to both nations: lord North and Grey complained of the small and unequal proportion of the land-tax imposed on Scotland: the earl of Nottingham said it was highly unreasonable that the Scots, who were by the treaty let into all the branches of the English trade, and paid so little towards the expense of the government, should moreover have such a round sum by way of equivalent: the same topics were insisted on by the lords North and Grey, Guernsey, Granville, Stawell, and Abingdon. The earl of Nottingham, after having opposed every article separately, concluded with words to this effect:—‘As Sir John Maynard said to the late king at the revolution, that having buried all his contemporaries in Westminster-hall, he was afraid, if his majesty had not come in that very juncture of time, he might have likewise outlived the very laws; so, if this union do pass, as I have no reason to doubt but it will, I may justly affirm I have outlived all the laws, and the very constitution of England: I therefore pray to God to avert the dire effects which may probably ensue from such an incorporating union.’

14. These arguments and objections were answered by the lord treasurer Godolphin; the earls of Sunderland and Wharton; the lords Townshend, Halifax, and Somers; the bishops of Oxford, Norwich, and Sarum: they observed, that such an important measure could not be effected without some inconveniences, but that these ought to be borne in consideration of the greatness of the advantage; that the chief dangers to which the church was exposed arose from France and popery; and this union would effectually secure it against these evils: that Scotland lay on the weakest side of England, which could not be defended but by an expensive army: should a war break out between the two nations, and Scotland be conquered, yet even in that case it would be necessary to keep it under with a standing army, which any enterprising prince might model for his ambitious purposes, and, joining with the Scots, enslave his English dominions: that any union after a conquest would be compulsive, consequently of short duration; whereas now it was voluntary, it would be lasting: that with regard to ecclesiastical affairs, all heats and animosities might be allayed by soft and gentle management: the cantons of Switzerland, though they professed different religions, were yet united in one general body; and the diet of Germany was composed of princes and

states, among whom three different persuasions prevailed; so that two sorts of discipline might very well subsist under one legislature: if there was any danger on either side, it threatened the Scots much more than the English, as 513 members could certainly be too hard for forty-five; and in the house of lords, six-and-twenty bishops would always preponderate against sixteen peers from Scotland. Notwithstanding all the opposition made by the lords of the tory interest, every article was approved by a great majority, though not without a good number of protestations; and a bill of ratification was prepared in the lower house by Sir Simon Harcourt, the solicitor-general, in such an artful manner, as to prevent all debates:⁹ all the articles, as they passed in Scotland, were recited by way of preamble, together with the acts made in both parliaments for the security of the several churches; and in conclusion there was one clause, by which the whole was ratified and enacted into a law: by this contrivance, those who were desirous of starting new difficulties found themselves disabled from pursuing their design: they could not object to the recital, which was barely matter of fact; and they had not strength sufficient to oppose the general enacting clause: on the other hand, the whigs promoted it with such zeal, that it passed by a majority of 114, before the others had recollected themselves from the surprise which the structure of the bill had occasioned: it made its way through the house of lords with equal despatch; and, when it received the royal sanction, the queen expressed the utmost satisfaction: she said she did not doubt but it would be remembered and spoke of hereafter, to the honor of those who had been instrumental in bringing it to such a happy conclusion: she desired that her subjects of both kingdoms should from henceforward behave with all possible respect and kindness towards one another, that so it might appear to all the world they had hearts disposed to become one people.

15. As the act of union did not take place till the first of May, 1707, a great number of traders in both kingdoms resolved to make advantage of this interval: the English proposed to export into Scotland such commodities as en-

⁹ Burnet. Boyer. Quincy. Torcy. Tindal. Feuquieres. History of Europe. History of the Duke of Marlborough. Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough. Lockhart. Ker. Friend. Voltaire.

titled them to drawback, with a view to bring them back after the first of May: the Scots, on the other hand, as their duties were much lower than those in England, intended to import great quantities of wine, brandy, and other merchandise, which they could sell at a greater advantage in England after the union, when there would be a free intercourse between the two nations: some of the ministers had embarked in this fraudulent design, which alarmed the merchants of England to such a degree, that they presented a remonstrance to the commons: resolutions were immediately taken in the house against these practices, and a bill was prepared; but the lords apprehending that it in some measure infringed the articles of the union, and that it might give umbrage to the Scottish nation, it was dropped: the frauds had been in a good measure prevented by the previous resolutions of the house; and the first of May was now at hand; so that the bill was thought unnecessary. On the twenty-fourth of April the queen prorogued the parliament, after having given them to understand that she would continue by proclamation the lords and commons already assembled, as members in the first British parliament on the part of England, pursuant to the powers vested in her by the acts of parliament of both kingdoms, ratifying the treaty of union: the parliament was accordingly revived by proclamation, and another issued to convoke the first parliament of Great Britain for the twenty-third of October. The Scots repaired to London, where they were well received by the queen, who bestowed the title of duke on the earls of Roxburgh and Montrose: she likewise granted a commission for a new privy-council in that kingdom, to be in force till the next session of parliament, that the nation might not be disgusted by too sudden an alteration of outward appearances. The first of May was appointed as a day of public thanksgiving, and congratulatory addresses were sent up from all parts of England; but the university of Oxford prepared no compliment, and the Scots were wholly silent on this occasion.

16. In the course of this session, the commons, in an address to the queen, desired she would resettle the islands of St. Christopher and Nevis in the West-Indies, which had been ravaged by the enemy: they likewise resolved that an humble address should be presented to her majesty, praying she would concert measures for suppressing a body of pirates who had made a settlement on the island of Mada-

gascar, as also for recovering and preserving the ancient possession, trade, and fishery in Newfoundland: the French refugees likewise delivered a remonstrance to the queen, recapitulating the benefits which the persecuted protestants in France had reaped from the assistance of her royal progenitors; acknowledging their own happiness in living under her gentle government, among a people by whom they had been so kindly entertained when driven from their native country; and imploring her majesty's interposition and good offices in favor of their distressed and persecuted brethren abroad. She graciously received this address, declaring she had always great compassion for the unhappy circumstances of the protestants in France; that she would communicate her thoughts on this subject to her allies; and she expressed her hope that such measures might be taken as should effectually answer the intent of their petition. In the month of May she granted an audience to an ambassador extraordinary from the czar of Muscovy, who delivered a letter from his master, containing complaints of king Augustus, who had maltreated the Russian troops sent to his assistance; concluded a dishonorable peace with Charles, king of Sweden, without the knowledge of his allies; and surrendered count Patkul, the Muscovite minister, as a deserter, to the Swedish monarch, contrary to the law of nations, and even to the practice of barbarians: he therefore desired her Britannic majesty would use her good offices for the enlargement of the count and the other Russian prisoners detained at Stockholm, and that she would take into her protection the remains of the Russian auxiliaries on the Rhine, that they might either enter into the service of the allies, or be at liberty to return in safety to their own country. The queen actually interposed in behalf of Patkul; but her intercession proved ineffectual, and that unhappy minister was put to death with all the circumstances of wanton barbarity: as many severe and sarcastic writings had lately appeared, in which the whigs and ministry were reviled, and reflections hinted to the prejudice of the queen's person, the government resolved to make examples of the authors and publishers of these licentious productions. Dr. Joseph Browne was twice pilloried for a copy of verses, entitled, 'The Country Parson's Advice to the Lord Keeper,' and a letter which he afterwards wrote to Mr. secretary Harley: William Stephens, rector of Sutton, in Surrey, underwent the same sentence, as author of a pam-

phlet called 'A Letter to the Author of the Memorial of the Church of England:' Edward Ward was fined and set in the pillory, for having written a burlesque poem on the times, under the title of 'Hudibras Redivivus;' and the same punishment was inflicted on William Pittes, author of a performance, entitled, 'The Case of the Church of England's Memorial fairly stated.'

17. The lower house of convocation still continued to wrangle with their superiors; and though they joined the upper house in a congratulatory address to the queen on the success of her arms, they resolved to make application to the commons against the union: the queen being apprised of their design, desired the archbishop to prorogue them for three weeks, before the expiration of which the act of union had passed in parliament: the lower house delivered a representation to the bishops, in which they affirmed, no such prorogation had ever been ordered during the session of parliament: the bishops found in their records seven or eight precedents of such prorogations, and above thirty instances of the convocation having sat sometimes before and sometimes after a session of parliament; nay, sometimes even when the parliament was dissolved. The queen, informed of these proceedings, wrote a letter to the archbishop, intimating that she looked on the lower house as guilty of an invasion of her royal supremacy; and that if any thing of the same nature should be attempted for the future, she would use such means for punishing offenders as the law warranted. The prolocutor absenting himself from the convocation, the archbishop pronounced sentence of contumacy against him: the lower house, in a protestation, declared this sentence unlawful and altogether null: nevertheless, the prolocutor made a full submission, with which the archbishop was satisfied, and the sentence was repealed. About this period the earl of Sunderland was appointed one of the secretaries of state in the room of Sir Charles Hedges: this change was not effected without great opposition from Harley, who was in his heart an enemy to the duke of Marlborough and all his adherents; and had already, by his secret intrigues, made considerable progress in a scheme for superseding the influence of the duchess.

18. The French king at this juncture seemed to be intirely abandoned by his former good fortune: he had sustained such a number of successive defeats as had drained his kingdom of people, and his treasury was almost exhausted:

he endeavored to support the credit of his government by issuing mint-bills, in imitation of the bank-notes of England; but, notwithstanding all his precautions, they passed at a discount of three-and-fifty per cent: the lands lay uncultivated; the manufactures could be no longer carried on; and the subjects perished with famine. The allies, on the other hand, seemed to prosper in every quarter: they had become masters of the greatest part of the Netherlands, in consequence of the victory at Ramillies; the army of king Charles was considerably reinforced; a scheme was formed for the conquest of Toulon by the troops of the emperor and the duke of Savoy, supplied with a large sum of money by queen Anne, and assisted by the combined fleets of England and Holland, under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel: in a word, France seemed to be reduced to the verge of destruction, from which nothing in all probability could have saved her but the jealousy and misconduct of the confederates. Louis, by virtue of his capitulation with the emperor in Italy, was enabled to send such reinforcements into Spain, as turned the fortune of the war in that country; while the distractions in the council of king Charles prevented that unanimity and concurrence, without which no success can be expected. The earl of Peterborough declared against an offensive war, on account of the difficulty of finding subsistence in Castile; and advised Charles to trust to the expedition against Toulon: this opinion he sent from Italy, to which he had withdrawn.

19. Charles, however, was persuaded to penetrate once more to Madrid, and give battle to the enemy wherever they should appear: on the thirteenth of March the army was assembled at Caudela, to the number of 16,000 men, under the auspices of the marquis das Minas, to whom the earl of Galway was second in command: they marched towards Yecla, and undertook the siege of Vileña; but, having received intelligence that the duke of Berwick was in the neighborhood, they advanced on the fourteenth of April in four columns towards the town of Almanza, where the enemy were drawn up in order of battle, their number being considerably superior to that of the confederates. The battle began about two in the afternoon, and the whole front of each army was fully engaged: the English and Dutch squadrons on the left, sustained by the Portuguese horse of the second line, were overpowered after a gallant resistance: the centre, consisting chiefly of battalions from

Great Britain and Holland, obliged the enemy to give way, and drove their first on their second line; but the Portuguese cavalry on the right being broken at their first charge, their foot betook themselves to flight; so that the English and Dutch troops being left naked on the flanks, were surrounded and attacked on every side: in this dreadful emergency they formed themselves into a square, and retired from the field of battle. By this time the men were quite spent with fatigue, and all their ammunition exhausted; they were ignorant of the country, abandoned by their horse, destitute of provision, and cut off from all hope of supply: moved by these dismal considerations, they capitulated, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war, to the amount of thirteen battalions: the Portuguese, and part of the English horse, with the infantry that guarded the baggage, retreated to Alcira, where they were joined by the earl of Galway, with about 2500 dragoons which he had brought from the field of battle: about 3000 men of the allied army were killed on the spot, and among that number brigadier Killigrew, with many officers of distinction: the earl of Galway, who charged in person at the head of Guiscard's dragoons, received two deep cuts in the face: the marquis das Minas was run through the arm, and saw his mistress, who fought in the habit of an Amazon, killed by his side: the lords Tyrawley, Mark Ker, and colonel Clayton were wounded: all their artillery, together with 120 colors and standards, and about 10,000 men, were taken, so that no victory could be more complete; yet it was not purchased without the loss of 2000 men slain in the action, including some officers of eminence. The duke of Berwick, who commanded the troops of king Philip, acquired a great addition of fame by his conduct and behavior before and during the engagement; but his authority was superseded by the duke of Orleans, who arrived in the army immediately after the battle: this prince seemed to entertain some private views of his own; for he took no effectual step to improve the victory: he began a private negociation with the earl of Galway, during which the two armies lay inactive on the banks of the Cinca; and he concluded the campaign with the siege of Lerida, which was surrendered by capitulation on the second of November: then the troops on both sides went into winter-quarters: the earl of Galway and the marquis das Minas embarked at Barcelona for Lisbon, and general Carpenter remained commander of the English forces quartered in Ca-

talonia, which was now the only part of Spain that remained to king Charles.

20. The attempt on Toulon by the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene might have succeeded, if the emperor, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of the maritime powers, had not divided his army in Italy, by detaching a considerable body through the ecclesiastical state towards Naples, of which he took possession without any difficulty: besides, 10,000 recruits destined for the imperial forces in Italy were detained in Germany, from apprehension of the king of Sweden, who remained in Saxony, and seemed to be on very indifferent terms with the emperor. With the assistance of the English and Dutch fleets, the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene passed the Var on the eleventh of July,¹⁰ at the head of an army of 30,000 men, and marched directly towards Toulon, whither the artillery and ammunition were conveyed on board of the combined squadrons: the French king was extremely alarmed at this attempt, as 5000 pieces of cannon, vast magazines, and the best part of his fleet were in the harbor of Toulon, and ran the greatest risk of being intirely taken or destroyed. The whole kingdom of France was filled with consternation when they found their enemies were in the bosom of their country: the monarch resolved to leave no stone unturned for the relief of the place, and his subjects exerted themselves in a very extraordinary manner for its preservation: the nobility of the adjacent provinces armed their servants and tenants, at the head of whom they marched into the city: they coined their plate, and pawned their jewels for money to pay the workmen employed on the fortifications; and such industry was used, that in

¹⁰ This passage was effected to the astonishment of the French, who thought the works they had raised on that river were impregnable: the honor of the enterprise was in a great measure owing to the gallantry of Sir John Norris and the English seamen: that brave officer, embarking in boats with 600 sailors and marines, entered the river, and were rowed within musket-shot of the enemy's works, where they made such a vigorous and unexpected attack, that the French were immediately driven from part of their intrenchments; then Sir John landed with his men, clambered over the works that were deemed inaccessible, and attacking the defendants sword in hand, compelled them to fly with the utmost precipitation: this detachment was sustained by Sir Cloudesley Shovel in person. The duke of Savoy, taking advantage of the enemy's consternation, passed the river almost without opposition.

a few days the town and harbor, which had been greatly neglected, were put in a good posture of defence. The allies took possession of the eminences that commanded the city, and the ordnance being landed, erected batteries: from these they began to cannonade and bombard the city, while the fleet attacked and reduced two forts at the entrance of the mole, and co-operated in the siege with their great guns and bomb-ketches: the garrison was numerous, and defended the place with great vigor: they sunk ships in the entrance to the mole; they kept up a prodigious fire from the ramparts; they made desperate sallies, and even drove the besiegers from one of their posts with great slaughter. The French king, alarmed at this design of his enemies, ordered troops to march towards Toulon from all parts of his dominions: he countermanded the forces that were on their route to improve the victory of Almanza; a great part of the army under Villars on the Rhine was detached to Provence; and the court of Versailles declared that the duke of Burgundy should march at the head of a strong army to the relief of Toulon. The duke of Savoy, being apprised of these preparations, seeing no hope of reducing the place, and being apprehensive that his passage would be intercepted, resolved to abandon his enterprise: the artillery being re-embarked, with the sick and wounded, he decamped in the night, under favor of a terrible bombardment and cannonading from the English fleet, and retreated to his own country without molestation:¹¹ then he undertook the reduction of Suza, the garrison of which surrendered at discretion: by this conquest he not only secured the key to his own dominions, but also opened to himself a free passage into Dauphiny.

21. Sir Cloudesley Shovel, having left a squadron with Sir Thomas Dilkes for the Mediterranean service, set sail for England with the rest of the fleet, and was in soundings on the twenty-second of October: about eight o'clock at night his own ship, the *Association*, struck on the rocks of Scilly, and perished with every person on board: this was likewise the fate of the *Eagle* and the *Romney*: the *Firebrand* was dashed

¹¹ Had the duke of Savoy marched with expedition from the Var, he would have found Toulon defenceless; but he lingered in such a manner as gives reason to believe he was not hearty in the enterprise; and his operations were retarded by a difference between him and his kinsman prince Eugene.

in pieces on the rocks, but the captain and four-and-twenty men saved themselves in the boat: the Phoenix was driven on shore: the Royal Anne was saved by the presence of mind and uncommon dexterity of Sir George Byng and his officers: the St. George, commanded by lord Dursley, struck on the rocks, but a wave set her afloat again: the admiral's body, being cast ashore, was stripped and buried in the sand; but afterwards discovered and brought into Plymouth, from whence it was conveyed to London, and interred in Westminster-abbey. Sir Cloudesley Shovel was born of mean parentage in the county of Suffolk; but raised himself to the chief command at sea by his industry, valor, skill, and integrity. On the Upper Rhine the allies were unprosperous:¹² the prince of Baden was dead, and the

¹² In the month of May three ships of the line, namely, the Royal Oak, of seventy-six guns, commanded by commodore baron Wylde; the Grafton, of seventy guns, captain Edward Acton; and the Hampton-court, of seventy guns, captain George Clements, sailed as convoy to the West-India and Portugal fleet of merchant-ships, amounting to five-and-fifty sail: they fell in with the Dunkirk squadron, consisting of ten ships of war, one frigate, and four privateers, under the command of M. de Forbin: a furious action immediately ensued, and notwithstanding the vast disproportion in point of number, was maintained by the English commodore with great gallantry, until captain Acton was killed, captain Clements mortally wounded, and the Grafton and Hampton-court were taken, after having sunk the Salisbury, at that time in the hands of the French: then the commodore, having eleven feet water in his hold, disengaged himself from the enemy, by whom he had been surrounded, and ran his ship aground near Dungeness; but she afterwards floated, and he brought her safe into the Downs: in the mean time the French frigate and privateers made prize of twenty-one English merchant-ships of great value, which, with the Grafton and Hampton-court, Forbin conveyed in triumph to Dunkirk. In July the same active officer took fifteen ships belonging to the Russian company, off the coast of Lapland: in September he joined another squadron fitted out at Brest under the command of the celebrated M. du Guai Trouin, and these attacked, off the Lizard, the convoy of the Portugal fleet, consisting of the Cumberland, captain Richard Edwards, of eighty guns; the Devonshire, of eighty; the Royal Oak, of seventy-six; the Chester and Ruby, of fifty guns each. Though the French squadron did not fall short of twelve sail of the line, the English captains maintained the action for many hours with surprising valor: at length the Devonshire was obliged to yield to superior numbers; the Cumberland blew up; the Chester and Ruby were taken; the Royal Oak fought her way through the midst of her enemies, and arrived safe in the harbor of Kinsale;

German army so inconsiderable, that it could not defend the lines of Buhl against the marshal de Villars, who broke through this work, esteemed the rampart of Germany, reduced Rastadt, defeated a body of horse, laid the duchy of Wirtemberg under contribution, took Stutgard and Schon-dorf; and routed 3000 Germans intrrenched at Lorch, under the command of general Janus, who was made prisoner. In all probability, this active officer would have made great progress towards the restoration of the elector of Bavaria, had not he been obliged to stop in the middle of his career, in consequence of his army being diminished by sending off detachments to Provence: the imperial army retired towards Heilbron, and the command of it was, at the request of the emperor and allies, assumed by the elector of Hanover, who restored military discipline, and acted with uncommon prudence and circumspection; but he had not force sufficient to undertake any enterprise of importance.

22. In the month of April, the duke of Marlborough set out from the Hague for Leipsic, with a letter from the queen to Charles XII. of Sweden, whose designs were still so mysterious, that the confederates could not help being alarmed at his being in the heart of Germany: the duke was pitched on as the most proper ambassador, to soothe his vanity and penetrate into his real intention.¹³ He found this original

and the Lisbon fleet saved themselves, by making the best of their way during the engagement. Since the battle off Malaga the French king had never dared to keep the sea with a large fleet, but carried on a kind of piratical war of this sort in order to distress the trade of England: he was the more encouraged to pursue these measures, by the correspondence which his ministers carried on with some wretches belonging to the admiralty, and the other officers, who basely betrayed their country in transmitting to France such intelligence concerning the convoys appointed for the protection of commerce, as enabled the enemy to attack them at advantage. In the course of this year the French fishery, stages, ships, and vessels in Newfoundland, were taken, burned, and destroyed, by captain John Underdown, of the Falkland.

• ¹³ When the duke arrived in his coach at the quarters of count Piper, of whom he had demanded an audience, he was given to understand that the count was busy, and obliged to wait half an hour before the Swedish minister came down to receive him: when he appeared at last, the duke alighted from his coach, put on his hat, passed the count without saluting him, and went aside to the wall, where having stayed some time, he returned, and accosted him with the most polite address.

character, not simple, but sordid in his appearance and economy, savage in his deportment, ferocious, illiterate, stubborn, implacable, and reserved: the English general assailed him on the side of his vanity, the only part by which he was accessible: 'Sire,' said he, 'I present to your majesty a letter, not from the chancery, but from the heart of the queen my mistress, and written with her own hand; had not her sex prevented her from taking so long a journey, she would have crossed the sea to see a prince admired by the whole universe: I esteem myself happy in having the honor of assuring your majesty of my regard; and I should think it a great happiness, if my affairs would allow me, to learn under so great a general as your majesty, what I want to know in the art of war.' Charles was pleased with this overstrained compliment, which seems to have been calculated for a raw, unintelligent barbarian, unacquainted with the characters of mankind: he professed particular veneration for queen Anne as well as for the person of her ambassador, and declared he would take no steps to the prejudice of the grand alliance: nevertheless, the sincerity of this declaration has been questioned: the French court is said to have gained over his minister, count Piper, to their interest: certain it is, he industriously sought occasion to quarrel with the emperor, and treated him with great insolence, until he submitted to all his demands. The treaty being concluded on the terms he thought proper to impose, he had no longer the least shadow of pretence to continue his disputes with the court of Vienna; and therefore began his march for Poland, which was by this time over-run by the czar of Muscovy.

23. The duke of Marlborough returning from Saxony, assembled the allied army at Anderlech near Brussels, about the middle of May; and, understanding that the elector of Bavaria and the duke de Vendome, who commanded the French forces, had quitted their lines, he advanced to Soignies, with a design to engage them in the plain of Fleurus: but receiving certain intelligence that the enemy were greatly superior to the allies in number, by the help of draughts from all the garrisons, he retreated towards Brussels, and took post at Mildert; while the French advanced to Gemblours. Both armies lay inactive until the enemy sent off a large detachment towards Provence: then the duke of Marlborough and general D'Auverquerque resolved to attack them in their fortified camp at Gemblours; but they retreated

with such celerity from one post to another, that the confederates could not come up with them until they were safely encamped with the right at Pont-a-Tresin, and their left under the cannon of Lisle, covered with the river Scheldt, and secured by intrenchments. The allies chose their camp at Helchin, and foraged under the cannon of Tournay, within a league of the enemy; but nothing could induce them to hazard an engagement, and both armies went into winter-quarters in the latter end of October. The duke of Marlborough set out for Frankfort, where he conferred with the electors of Mentz, Hanover, and Palatine, about the operations of the next campaign: then he returned to the Hague; and, having concerted the necessary measures with the deputies of the States-General, embarked for England in the beginning of November.

24. The queen's private favor was now shifted to a new object: the duchess of Marlborough was supplanted by Mrs. Masham, her own kinswoman, whom she had rescued from indigence and obscurity: this favorite succeeded to that ascendancy over the mind of her sovereign which the duchess had formerly possessed: she was more humble, pliable, and obliging than her first patroness, who had played the tyrant, and thwarted the queen in some of her most respected maxims. Her majesty's prepossession in favor of the tories and high-churchmen was no longer insolently condemned and violently opposed: the new confidante conformed to all her prejudices, and encouraged all her designs with assent and approbation: in political intrigues she acted as associate, or rather auxiliary, to Mr. secretary Harley, who had insinuated himself into the queen's good graces; and determined to sap the credit of the duke of Marlborough and the earl of Godolphin: his aim was to unite the tory interest under his own auspices, and expel the whigs from the advantages they possessed under the government. His chief coadjutor in this scheme was Henry St. John, afterwards lord Bolingbroke, a man of warm imagination and elegant taste, penetrating, eloquent, ambitious, and enterprising, whose talents were rather specious than solid, and whose principles were loose and fluctuating: he was at first contented to act in an inferior capacity, subservient to the designs of the secretary; but when he understood the full extent of his own parts and influence, he was fired with the ambition of eclipsing his principal, and from the sphere of his minister raised himself to the character of his rival. These poli-

ticians, with the assistance of Sir Simon Harcourt, a colleague of uncommon ability and credit, exerted their endeavors to rally and reconcile the disunited tories, who were given to understand that the queen could no longer bear the tyranny of the whigs; that she had been always a friend in her heart to the tory and high church party; and that she would now exhibit manifest proof of her inclination: she accordingly bestowed the bishoprics of Chester and Exeter on Sir William Dawes and Dr. Blackall, who, though otherwise of unblemished characters, had openly condemned the revolution.

25. The people in general began to be sick of the whig ministry, whom they had formerly caressed: to them they imputed the burdens under which they groaned; burdens which they had hitherto been animated to bear by the pomp of triumph and uninterrupted success: at present they were discouraged by the battle of Almanza, the miscarriage of the expedition against Toulon, the loss of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and the fate of four ships of the line, destroyed or taken by a squadron under the command of Messieurs Forbin and Du Guai Trouin, two of the most enterprising sea-officers in the French service: no new advantage had been obtained in the Netherlands: France, instead of sinking under the weight of the confederacy, seemed to rise with fresh vigor from every overthrow: the English traders had lately sustained repeated losses for want of proper convoys; the coin of the nation was visibly diminished; and the public credit began to decline. The tories did not fail to inculcate and exaggerate these causes of discontent, and the ministry were too remiss in taking proper steps for the satisfaction of the nation: instead of soothing, by gentle measures and equal administration, the Scots, who had expressed such aversion to the union, they treated them in such a manner as served to exasperate the spirits of that people: a stop was put to their whole commerce for two months before it was diverted into the new channel: three months elapsed before the equivalent was remitted to that kingdom, and it was afterwards applied to the most shameful partiality: seizures of wines and other merchandise imported from thence into England were made in all the northern parts with an affectation of severity and disdain; so that the generality of the Scottish nation loudly exclaimed against the union and the government: the Jacobites were again in commotion: they held conferences; they maintained a correspondence

with the court of St. Germain's ; a great number of the most rigid whigs entered so far into their measures, as to think a revolution was absolutely necessary to retrieve the liberties, independence, and commerce of their country ; the pretender's birthday was publicly celebrated in many different parts of the kingdom ; and every thing seemed to portend a universal revolt. Ireland continued quiet under the administration of the earl of Pembroke, whom the queen had appointed lord-lieutenant of that kingdom : a parliament having met at Dublin in the month of July, presented addresses of congratulation to her majesty on the late union of the two kingdoms : the commons, having inspected the public accounts, resolved that the kingdom had been put to excessive charge, by means of great arrears of rent returned by the late trustees, as due out of the forfeited estates, which returns were false and unjust ; and, that a humble representation should be laid before her majesty on this subject. They passed another laudable resolution in favor of their own manufactures : they granted the necessary supplies ; and, having finished several bills for the royal assent, were prorogued on the twenty-ninth of October.

26. It was on the twenty-third of the same month, that the first parliament of Great Britain assembled at Westminster, when the queen, in her speech to both houses, palliated the miscarriages in Provence and in Spain ; represented the necessity of making farther efforts against the common enemy ; and exhorted them to be on their guard against those who endeavored to sow jealousies in the commonwealth. The commons, in their address, expressed the continuance of their former zeal and devotion to her majesty's government ; but in the house of lords, the earl of Wharton expatiated on the scarcity of money, the decay of trade, and the mismanagement of the navy : he was seconded by lord Somers and the leaders of the tory party, who proposed that, previous to every measure, they should consider the state of the nation : the design of Wharton and Somers was to raise the earl of Orford once more to the head of the admiralty ; and the tories, who did not perceive their drift, hoped, in the course of the inquiry, to fix the blame of all mismanagement on the whig ministers. A day being fixed for this examination, the house received a petition from the sheriffs and merchants of London, complaining of great losses by sea, for want of cruisers and convoys ; and these complaints were proved by witnesses :

the report was sent to the lord-admiral, who answered all the articles separately : then the tories moved for an address, in which the blame of the miscarriages might be laid on the ministry and cabinet-council ; but the motion was overruled : the queen was presented with a bare representation of the facts, and desired that she would take the proper measures for preventing such evils for the future. The commons made some progress in an inquiry of the same nature ; and brought in a bill for the better securing the trade of the kingdom : they cheerfully granted the supplies for the service of the ensuing year : they prepared another bill for repealing the Scottish act of security, and that about peace and war, which had excited such jealousy in the English nation : they resolved, that there should be but one privy-council in the kingdom of Great-Britain ; that the militia of Scotland should be put on the same footing with that of England ; that the powers of the justices of the peace should be the same through the whole island ; that the lords of justiciary in Scotland should go circuits twice in the year ; that the writs for electing Scottish members to serve in the house of commons should be directed, and returns made, in the same manner as practised in England : an act being formed on these resolutions, they brought in a bill for preserving the trade with Portugal ; then they considered the state of the war in Spain.

27. When the queen passed these bills, she recommended an augmentation in the aids and auxiliaries granted to the king of Spain and the duke of Savoy : this intimation produced a debate in the house of lords on the affairs of Spain : the services of the earl of Peterborough were extolled by the earl of Rochester and lord Haversham, who levelled some oblique reflections at the earl of Galway : several lords enlarged on the necessity of carrying on the war until king Charles should be fully established on the throne of Spain. The earl of Peterborough said they ought to contribute nine shillings in the pound rather than make peace on any other terms ; he declared himself ready to return to Spain, and serve even under the earl of Galway : the earl of Rochester repeated a maxim of the old duke of Schomberg, that attacking France in the Netherlands was like taking a bull by the horns : he therefore proposed that the allies should stand on the defensive in Flanders, and detach from thence 15,000 or 20,000 men into Catalonia : he was seconded by the earl of Nottingham, but warmly opposed by the duke of

Marlborough, who urged, that the great towns in Brabant which he had conquered could not be preserved without a considerable number of men; and that if the French should gain any advantage in Flanders from their superiority in point of number, the discontented party in Holland, which was very numerous, and bore with impatience the burden of the war, would not fail crying aloud for peace: being challenged by Rochester to show how troops could be procured for the service of Italy and Spain, he assured the house that measures had been already concerted with the emperor for forming an army of 40,000 men under the duke of Savoy, for sending powerful succors to king Charles: this declaration finished the debate, which issued in an affectionate address to her majesty. The lords resolved, that no peace could be safe and honorable for her majesty and her allies, if Spain and the Spanish West-Indies were suffered to continue in the power of the house of Bourbon: they presented an address, in which they desired she would press the emperor to send powerful succors to Spain under the command of prince Eugene, with all possible expedition to make good his contract with the duke of Savoy, and strengthen the army on the Rhine, which was now happily put under the conduct of that wise and valiant prince, the elector of Hanover: the commons concurred in this remonstrance, in consequence of which the queen desired the emperor to bestow the command in Spain on prince Eugene: the court of Vienna, however, did not comply with this request; but sent thither count Staremburg, who of all the German generals was next to the prince in military reputation. The commons now proceeded to consider of ways and means, and actually established funds for raising the supply, which amounted to the enormous sum of £6,000,000.

28. At this period Mr. Harley's character incurred suspicion, from the treachery of William Gregg, an inferior clerk in his office, who was detected in a correspondence with Monsieur Chamillard, the French king's minister: when his practices were detected, he made an ample confession; and pleading guilty to his indictment at the Old-Bailey, was condemned to death for high-treason: at the same time, John Bara and Alexander Valière were committed to Newgate for corresponding with the enemy; and Claude Baude, secretary to the duke of Savoy's minister, was, at the request of his master, apprehended for traitorous practices against her majesty and her government. A committee of

seven lords being appointed to examine these delinquents, made a report to the house, which was communicated to the queen in an address, importing, that Gregg had discovered secrets of state to the French minister; that Alexander Valière and John Bara had managed a correspondence with the governors and commissaries of Calais and Boulogne; and, in all probability, discovered to the enemy the stations of the British cruisers, the strength of their convoys, and the times at which the merchant-ships proceeded on their voyages; that all the papers in the office of Mr. secretary Harley had been for a considerable time exposed to the view of the meanest clerks; and that the perusal of all the letters to and from the French prisoners had been chiefly trusted to Gregg, a person of a very suspicious character, and known to be extremely indigent. The queen granted a reprieve to this man, in hope of his making some important discovery; but he really knew nothing of consequence to the nation: he was an indigent Scot, who had been employed as a spy in his own country, and now offered his services to Chamillard, with a view of being rewarded for his treachery; but he was discovered before he had reaped any fruits from his correspondence: as he had no secrets of importance to impart, he was executed at Tyburn, where he delivered a paper to the sheriff, in which he declared Mr. Harley intirely ignorant of all his treasonable connexions, notwithstanding some endeavors that were made to engage him in an accusation of that minister.

29. The queen had refused to admit the earl of Peterborough into her presence until he should have vindicated his conduct, of which king Charles had complained in divers letters: he was eagerly desirous of a parliamentary inquiry: his military proceedings, his negociations, his disposal of the remittances were taken into consideration by both houses; but he produced such a number of witnesses and original papers to justify every transaction, that his character triumphed in the inquiry, which was dropped before it produced any resolution in parliament: then they took cognisance of the state of affairs in Spain, and found there had been a great deficiency in the English troops at the battle of Almanza: this, however, was explained so much to their satisfaction, that they voted an address to the queen, thanking her for having taken measures to restore the affairs in Spain, and provide foreign troops for that service: the bill for rendering the union more complete met with a vigorous

opposition in the house of lords from the court party, on account of the clause enacting that after the first of May there should be but one privy-council in the kingdom of Great Britain. The ministry, finding it was strenuously supported by all the tories and a considerable number of the other faction, would have compromised the difference, by proposing that the privy-council of Scotland should continue to the first of October: they hinted this expedient, in hope of being able to influence the ensuing elections; but their design being palpable, the motion was over-ruled, and the bill received the royal assent: a court of exchequer, however, was erected in Scotland on the model of that in England: the execution of Gregg, and the examination of Valière and Bara, who had acted as smugglers to the coast of France under the protection of Harley, to whom they engaged for intelligence, affected the credit of that minister, who was reviled and traduced by the emissaries of the whig party: the duke of Marlborough and the earl of Godolphin, being apprised of his secret practices with Mrs. Masham, wrote to the queen, that they could serve her no longer should Mr. Harley continue in the post of secretary: being summoned to the cabinet-council, they waited on her in person, and expostulated on the same subject: she endeavored to appease their resentment with soft persuasion, which had no effect; and when they retired from court, to the astonishment of all the spectators, she repaired in person to the council: there Mr. secretary Harley began to explain the cause of their meeting, which was some circumstance relating to foreign affairs: the duke of Somerset said he did not see how they could deliberate on such matters while the general and treasurer were absent; the other members observed a sullen silence; so that the council broke up, and the queen found herself in danger of being abandoned by her ministers: next day her majesty sent for the duke of Marlborough, and told him that Harley should immediately resign his office, which was conferred on Mr. Henry Boyle, chancellor of the exchequer; but she deeply resented the deportment of the duke and the earl of Godolphin, from whom she intirely withdrew her confidence. Sir Simon Harcourt, attorney-general; Sir Thomas Mansel, comptroller of the household; and Mr. St. John, relinquished their several posts on the disgrace of Harley.

30. The kingdom was at this period alarmed with a

threatened invasion from France: the court of St. Germain had sent over one colonel Hook with credentials to Scotland, to learn the situation, number, and ability of the pretender's friends in that country: this minister, by his misconduct, produced a division among the Scottish Jacobites: being a creature of the duke of Perth, he attached himself wholly to the duke of Athol, and those other zealous partisans who were bent on receiving the pretender without conditions: and he neglected the duke of Hamilton, the earl-marshall, and other adherents of that house, who adopted the more moderate principles avowed by the earl of Middleton. At his return to France, he made such a favorable report of the disposition and power of the Scottish nation, that Louis resolved to equip an armament, and send over the pretender to that kingdom: his pretence was to establish that prince on the throne of his ancestors; but his real aim was to make a diversion from the Netherlands, and excite a revolt in Great Britain, which should hinder queen Anne from exerting herself against France on the continent: he began to make preparations for this expedition at Dunkirk, where a squadron was assembled under the command of the chevalier de Fourbin; and a body of land forces were embarked with Monsieur de Gace, afterwards known by the appellation of the marshal de Matignon. The pretender, who had assumed the name of the chevalier de St. George, was furnished with services of gold and silver plate, sumptuous tents, rich clothes for his life-guards, splendid liveries, and all sorts of necessaries even to profusion: Louis at parting presented him with a sword studded with valuable diamonds, and repeated what he had formerly said to this adventurer's father; 'he hoped he should never see him again.' The pope contributed to the expense of this expedition, and accommodated him with divers religious inscriptions, which were wrought on his colors and standards. Queen Anne, being informed of these preparations, and the design of the French monarch, communicated to the commons the advices which she had received from Holland and the Netherlands touching the destination of the Dunkirk armament: both houses concurred in an address, assuring her they would assist her majesty with their lives and fortunes against the pretended prince of Wales, and all her other enemies: then they passed a bill, enacting, that the oath of abjuration should be tendered to all persons; and such as refused to take it should be in the condition of

convicted recusants : by another, they suspended the *habeas corpus* act till October with relation to persons apprehended by the government on suspicion of treasonable practices : the pretender and his adherents were proclaimed traitors and rebels ; and a bill was passed, discharging the clans of Scotland from all vassalage to those chiefs who should take up arms against her majesty : transports were hired to bring over ten British battalions from Ostend : a large fleet, being equipped with incredible diligence, sailed from Deal towards Dunkirk, under the conduct of Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, and lord Dursley. The French imagined that Leake had sailed to Lisbon, and that Britain was unprovided of ships of war ; so that they were amazed and confounded when this fleet appeared off Mardyke : a stop was immediately put to the embarkation of their troops ; frequent expresses were despatched to Paris ; the count de Fourbin represented to the French king the little probability of succeeding in this enterprise, and the danger that would attend the attempt ; but he received positive orders to embark the forces, and set sail with the first favorable wind.

31. The British fleet being forced from their station by severe weather on the fourteenth of March, the French squadron sailed on the seventeenth from the road of Dunkirk ; but the wind shifting, it anchored in Newport-pits till the nineteenth in the evening, when they set sail again with a fair breeze, steering their course for Scotland. Sir George Byng, having received advice of their departure from an Ostend vessel sent out for that purpose by major-general Cadogan, gave chase to the enemy, after having detached a squadron under admiral Baker, to convoy the troops that were embarked at Ostend for England : on the tenth of March the queen went to the house of peers, where, in a speech to both houses, she told them that the French fleet had sailed ; that Sir George Byng was in pursuit of them ; and that ten battalions of her troops were expected every day in England : this intimation was followed by two very warm addresses from the lords and commons, in which they repeated their assurances of standing by her against all her enemies : they exhorted her to persevere in supporting the common cause, notwithstanding this petty attempt to disturb her dominions ; and levelled some severe insinuations against those who endeavored to foment jealousies between her majesty and her most faithful servants : addresses on the same occasion were sent up from different parts of the king-

dom ; so that the queen seemed to look with contempt on the designs of the enemy : several regiments of foot, with some squadrons of cavalry, began their march for Scotland : the earl of Leven, commander in chief of the forces in that country, and governor of the castle of Edinburgh, hastened thither to put that fortress in a posture of defence, and to make the proper dispositions to oppose the pretender at his landing ; but the vigilance of Sir George Byng rendered all these precautions unnecessary : he sailed directly to the frith of Edinburgh, where he arrived almost as soon as the enemy, who immediately took the advantage of a land breeze, and bore away with all the sail they could carry : the English admiral gave chase ; and the Salisbury, one of their ships, was boarded and taken : at night Monsieur de Fourbin altered his course, so that next day they were out of reach of the English squadron : the pretender desired they would proceed to the northward, and land him at Inverness, and Fourbin seemed willing to gratify his request ; but the wind changing, and blowing in their teeth with great violence, he represented the danger of attempting to prosecute the voyage ; and, with the consent of the chevalier de St. George and his general, returned to Dunkirk, after having been tossed about a whole month in very tempestuous weather : in the mean time, Sir George Byng sailed up to Leith-road, where he received the freedom of the city of Edinburgh in a golden box, as a testimony of gratitude for his having delivered them from the dreadful apprehensions under which they labored.

32. Certain it is, the pretender could not have chosen a more favorable opportunity for making a descent on Scotland : the people in general were disaffected to the government on account of the union : the regular troops under Leven did not exceed 2500 men, and even great part of these would in all probability have joined the invader : the castle of Edinburgh was destitute of ammunition, and would in all appearance have surrendered at the first summons ; in which case the Jacobites must have been masters of the equivalent money lodged in that fortress : a good number of Dutch ships loaded with cannon, small arms, ammunition, and a large sum of money, had been driven on shore in the shire of Angus, where they would have been seized by the friends of the pretender, had the French troops been landed ; and all the adherents of that house were ready to appear in arms. In England, such a demand was made on the Bank by those

who favored the invasion, and those who dreaded a revolution, that the public credit seemed to be in danger: the commons resolved, that whoever designedly endeavored to destroy or lessen the public credit, especially at a time when the kingdom was threatened with an invasion, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor, and an enemy to her majesty and the kingdom.¹⁴ The lord treasurer signified to the directors of the Bank, that her majesty would allow for six months, an interest of six per cent. on their bills, which was double the usual rate; and considerable sums of money were offered to them by this nobleman, as well as by the dukes of Marlborough, Newcastle, and Somerset: the French, Dutch, and Jewish merchants, whose interest was in a peculiar manner connected with the safety of the Bank, exerted themselves for its support; and the directors, having called in twenty per cent. on their capital stock, were enabled to answer all the demands of the timorous and disaffected. All the noblemen and persons of distinction in Scotland, suspected of an attachment to the court of St. Germain, were apprehended, and either imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, or brought up to London, to be confined in the Tower or in Newgate: among these was the duke of Hamilton, who found means to make his peace with the whig ministers; and in a little time the other prisoners were admitted to bail.¹⁵

¹⁴ Burchet. Hare. Boyer. Lockhart. Feuquieres. Daniel. History of the Duke of Marlborough. Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough. Friend. Burchet. Tindal. Lives of the Admirals. Voltaire.

¹⁵ Three Camisars, or protestants, from the Cevennois, having made their escape, and repaired to London, acquired about this time the appellation of French prophets, from their enthusiastic gesticulations, effusions, and convulsions; and even formed a sect of their countrymen: the French refugees, scandalised at their behavior, and authorised by the bishop of London, as superior of the French congregations, resolved to inquire into the mission of these pretended prophets, whose names were Elias Marion, John Cavalier, and Durand Fage: they were declared impostors and counterfeits: notwithstanding this decision, which was confirmed by the bishops, they continued their assemblies in Soho, under the countenance of Sir Richard Bulkley and John Lacy: they reviled the ministers of the established church; they denounced judgments against the city of London and the whole British nation; and published their predictions, composed of unintelligible jargon: then they were prosecuted at the expense of the French churches, as disturbers of the public peace, and false prophets:

33. On the first of April, 1708, the parliament was prorogued, and afterwards dissolved by proclamation: writs were issued out for new elections, together with a proclamation, commanding all the peers of North Britain to assemble at Holyrood-house in Edinburgh, on the seventeenth of June, to elect sixteen peers to represent them in the ensuing British parliament, pursuant to the twenty-second article of the treaty of union. After the dissolution of the parliament, the lords Griffin, Clermont, two sons of the earl of Middleton, and several Scottish and Irish officers, who had been taken on board the Salisbury, were brought to London, and imprisoned in the Tower, or in Newgate: lord Griffin being attainted by outlawry, for high-treason committed in the reign of king William, was brought to the bar of the court of queen's-bench, and a rule made for his execution; but he was reprieved from month to month, until he died of a natural death in prison: the privy-council of Scotland was dissolved: the duke of Queensbury was created a British peer, by the title of baron of Ripon, marquis of Beverley, and duke of Dover; and the office of secretary at war, vacant by the resignation of Henry St. John, was bestowed on Robert Walpole, a gentleman who had rendered himself considerable in the house of commons, and whose conduct we shall have occasion to mention more

they were sentenced to pay a fine of twenty marks each, and stand twice on a scaffold, with papers on their breasts denoting their offence; a sentence which was executed accordingly at Charing-cross, and the Royal Exchange.

In the course of this year, Mr. Stanhope, who was resident from the queen at the court of Charles, concluded a treaty of commerce with this monarch, which would have proved extremely advantageous to Great Britain, had he been firmly established on the throne of Spain. It was stipulated that the English merchants should enjoy the privilege of importing all kinds of merchandise from the coast of Barbary into the maritime places of Spain, without paying any higher duty than if that merchandise had been the produce of Great Britain; and that even these duties should not be paid till six months after the merchandise should be landed and sold, the merchants giving security for the customs: it was agreed that the whole commerce of the Spanish West-Indies should be carried on by a joint company of Spanish and British merchants; and in the interim, as the greater part of that country was in the hands of Philip, his competitor consented that the British subjects should trade freely in all the ports of the West-Indies with ten ships of 500 tons each, under such convoy as her Britannic majesty should think fit to appoint.

at large in the sequel. About the same time, a proclamation was issued for distributing prizes, in certain proportions, to the different officers and seamen of the royal navy; a regulation that still prevails.

34. The French king, not at all discouraged by the miscarriage of his projected invasion, resolved to improve the advantages he had gained on the continent during the last campaign; and indeed he made efforts that were altogether incredible, considering the consumptive state of his finances:¹⁶ he assembled a prodigious army in the Netherlands under the command of the duke of Burgundy, assisted by Vendome, and accompanied by the duke of Berry and the chevalier de St. George: the elector of Bavaria was destined to the command of the troops on the Rhine, where he was seconded by the duke of Berwick; and the marshal de Villeroy was sent to conduct the forces in Dauphiny. About the latter end of March the duke of Marlborough repaired to the Hague, where he was met by prince Eugene: these two

¹⁶ Before the opening of the campaign, a very daring enterprise was formed by one colonel Queintern, a partisan in the imperial army: this man laid a scheme for carrying off the dauphin of France from the court of Versailles: he selected thirty men of approved valor for this undertaking: he procured passes for them, and they rendezvoused in the neighborhood of Paris. On the twenty-fourth of March, in the evening, he and his accomplices stopped a coach and six, with the king's liveries, and arrested the person who was in it, on the supposition of his being a prince of the blood: it was however M. de Berrighen, the king's first equerry: this officer they mounted on a spare horse, and set out for the Low Countries; but being little acquainted with the roads, they did not reach Chantilly till next morning, when they heard the tocsin, or alarm-bell, and thence concluded that detachments were sent out in pursuit of them: nevertheless, they proceeded boldly, and would certainly have carried the point, had not Queintern halted three hours for the refreshment of his prisoner, who complained of being indisposed: he likewise procured a chaise, and ordered the back of it to be lowered for his convenience: these acts of humanity retarded him so much, that he was overtaken by a detachment of horse at Ham, within three hours ride of a place of safety. Finding himself surrounded, he thought proper to surrender, and M. de Berrighen treated him with great generosity, for the civilities he had experienced at his hands: he carried him back to Versailles, and lodged him in his own apartments: Madame de Berrighen made him a considerable present; and the king ordered him and his companions to be discharged, on account of the courage and humanity they had displayed.

celebrated generals conferred with the pensionary Heinsius, and the deputies of the States-General: then they made an excursion to Hanover, where they prevailed on the elector to be satisfied with acting on the defensive in his command on the Rhine, and spare part of his forces, that the confederates might be enabled to make vigorous efforts in the Netherlands: the prince proceeded to Vienna, and the duke immediately returned to Flanders, where he assembled the army towards the latter end of May: on the twenty-fifth of that month, the duke de Vendome marched to Soignies, and posted himself within three leagues of the confederates, who were encamped at Billingham and Halle. The duke of Marlborough having received intelligence that the enemy were on their march by Bois-Seigneur-Isaac to Braine-la-Leuwe, concluded their intention was to take post on the banks of the Dyle, to hinder the allies from passing that river, and to occupy Louvain: he therefore commanded the army to march all night, and on the third of June encamped at Terbank, general D'Auverquerque fixing his quarters in the suburbs of Louvain, while the French advanced no farther than Genap and Braine-la-Leuwe. As they were more numerous than the confederates, and headed by a prince of the blood, the generals of the allies at first expected that they would hazard a battle; but their scheme was to retrieve by stratagem the places they had lost in Flanders: the elector of Bavaria had rendered himself extremely popular in the great towns; the count de Bergeyck, who had considerable interest among them, was devoted to the house of Bourbon; the inhabitants of the great cities were naturally inconstant and mutinous, and particularly dissatisfied with the Dutch government: the French generals resolved to profit by these circumstances; a detachment of their troops, under the brigadiers la Faille and Pasteur, surprised the city of Ghent, in which there was no garrison; at the same time the count de la Motte, with a strong body of forces, appeared before Bruges, which was surrendered to him without opposition: then he made a fruitless attempt on Damme, and marched to the little fort of Plassendhal, which he took by assault. The duke of Marlborough was no sooner apprised of the enemy's having sent a strong detachment towards Tubize, than he marched from Terbank, passed the canal, and encamped at Anderlech: the French crossed the Senne at Halle and Tubize, and the allies resolved to attack them next morning: but the enemy passed the Dender in the night

with great expedition; and the duke of Marlborough next day encamped at Asche, where he was joined by prince Eugene, who had marched with a considerable reinforcement of Germans from the Moselle. The enemy understanding that this general was on his march, determined to reduce Oudenard, the only pass on the Scheldt possessed by the confederates; and invested it on the ninth of July, hoping to subdue it before the allies could be reinforced: the duke of Marlborough was immediately in motion, and made a surprising march from Asche as far as Herselingen, where he was joined by the reinforcement: then he took possession of the strong camp at Lessines, which the French had intended to occupy, in order to cover the siege of Oudenard.

35. Thus disappointed, the French generals altered their resolution, abandoned Oudenard, and began to pass the Scheldt at Gavre: the two generals of the confederates were bent on bringing them to an engagement: Cadogan was sent with sixteen battalions and eight squadrons to repair the roads, and throw bridges over the Scheldt below Oudenard. The army was in motion at eight o'clock, and marched with such expedition, that by two in the afternoon the horse had reached the bridges over which Cadogan and his detachment were passing: the enemy had posted seven battalions in the village of Heynem, situated on the banks of the Scheldt; and the French household troops were drawn up in order of battle on the adjacent plain, opposite to a body of troops under major-general Rantzaw, who were posted behind a rivulet that ran into the river. The duke de Vendome intended to attack the confederates when one half of their army should have passed the Scheldt; but he was thwarted by the duke of Burgundy, who seemed to be perplexed and irresolute: this prince had ordered the troops to halt in their march to Gavre, as if he had not yet formed any resolution; and now he recalled the squadrons from the plain, determined to avoid a battle: Vendome remonstrated against this conduct, and the dispute continued till three in the afternoon, when the greater part of the allied army had passed the Scheldt without opposition: then the duke of Burgundy declared for an engagement, and Vendome submitted to his opinion with great reluctance, as the opportunity was now lost, and the army unformed. Major-general Grimaldi was ordered to attack Rantzaw with the horse of the king's household, who,

finding the rivulet marshy, refused to charge, and retired to the right: meanwhile Cadogan attacked the village of Heynem, which he took with three of the seven battalions by which it was guarded: Rantzaw, passing the rivulet, advanced into the plain, and drove before him several squadrons of the enemy: in this attack the electoral prince of Hanover, his late majesty George II. charged at the head of Bulau's dragoons with great intrepidity: his horse was shot under him, and colonel Laschky killed by his side: divers French regiments were intirely broken, and a good number of officers and standards fell into the hands of the Hanoverians. The confederates continued still passing the river; but few or none of the infantry were come up till five in the afternoon, when the duke of Argyle arrived with twenty battalions, which immediately sustained a vigorous assault from the enemy: by this time the French were drawn up in order of battle; and the allies being formed as they passed the river, both armies were engaged through the whole extent of their lines about seven in the evening: Europe had not many years produced two such noble armies; above 100 general officers appeared in the field, and 250 colonels fought at the head of their respective regiments: the number of the French exceeded that of the allies by 12,000; but their generals were divided, their forces ill-disposed, and the men dispirited by the uninterrupted success of their adversaries: they seemed from the beginning averse to an engagement, and acted in hurry and trepidation: nevertheless, the action was maintained until general D'Auverquerque and count Tilly, who commanded on the left of the allies, obliged the right of the enemy to give ground; and the prince of Orange, with count Oxenstiern, attacked them in flank with the Dutch infantry: then they began to give way, and retired in great confusion. The duke de Vendome, alighting from his horse, rallied the broken battalions, called the officers by name, conjured them to maintain the honor of their country, and animated the men with his voice and example; but notwithstanding all his endeavors, they were forced back among the enclosures in great confusion: some regiments were cut in pieces; others desired to capitulate; and if the darkness had not interposed, their whole army would have been ruined: the night coming on, so that it became impossible to distinguish friends from enemies, the two generals ordered the troops to cease firing, and the enemy took this opportunity of escaping by the road which leads from Oudenard to Ghent. The duke de Vendome

seeing the French forces flying in the utmost terror and precipitation, formed a rear-guard of about five-and-twenty squadrons and as many battalions, with which he secured the retreat: to this precaution the safety of their army was intirely owing; for at daybreak the duke of Marlborough sent a large detachment of horse and foot, under the lieutenant-generals Bulau and Lumley, to pursue the fugitives; but the hedges and ditches that skirted the road were lined with the French grenadiers in such a manner, that the cavalry could not form, and they were obliged to desist. The French reached Ghent about eight in the morning; and, marching through the city, encamped at Lovendegen on the canal: there they thought proper to cast up intrenchments, on which they planted their artillery, which they had left at Gavre with their heavy baggage. About 3000 were slain on the field of battle; 2000 deserted; and about 7000 were taken, including a great number of officers, together with ten pieces of cannon, above 100 standards and colors, and 4000 horses: the loss of the allies did not amount to 2000 men; nor was one officer of distinction killed on their side during the whole engagement.¹⁷ After the confederates had rested two days on the field of battle, a detachment was ordered to level the French lines between Ypres and the Lys; another was sent to raise contributions as far as Arras: they ravaged the country, and struck terror even into the city of Paris. While the allies plundered the province of Picardy, a detachment from the French army, under the chevalier de Rozen, made an irruption into Dutch Flanders, broke through the lines of Bervilet, which had been left unguarded; and made a descent on the island of Cadsandt, which they laid under contribution.

36. The generals of the allies now undertook an enterprise, which in the opinion of the French generals savored of rashness and inconsiderate self-sufficiency: this was the siege of Lisle, the strongest town in Flanders, provided with all necessaries, store of ammunition, and a garrison reinforced with one-and-twenty battalions of the best troops in France, commanded by marshal de Boufflers in person: but these were not the principal difficulties which the allies encountered: the enemy had cut off the communication

¹⁷ Among the officers who were engaged in this battle, old general D'Auverquerque and the duke of Argyle distinguished themselves by the most extraordinary valor and activity.

between them and their magazines at Antwerp and Sas-Fan-Ghent; so that they were obliged to bring their convoys from Ostend along a narrow causeway, exposed to the attack of an army more numerous than that with which they sat down before Lisle. On the thirteenth of August it was invested on one side by prince Eugene, and on the other by the prince of Orange-Nassau, stadtholder of Friesland; while the duke of Marlborough encamped at Helchin, to cover the siege: the trenches were opened on the twenty-second of August, and carried on with that vigor and alacrity which is always inspired by victory and success. The dukes of Burgundy and Vendome, being now joined by the duke of Berwick, resolved, if possible, to relieve the place; and made several marches and countermarches for this purpose: Marlborough, being apprised of their intention, marched out of his lines to give them battle, being reinforced by a considerable body of troops from the siege, including Augustus king of Poland, and the landgrave of Hesse, as volunteers; but the enemy declined an engagement, and the allies returned to their camp, which they fortified with an intrenchment. On the seventh of September, the besiegers took by assault the counterscarp of Lisle, after an obstinate action, in which they lost 1000 men: the French generals continued to hover about the camp of the confederates, which they actually cannonaded; and the duke of Marlborough again formed his army in order of battle; but their design was only to harass the allies with continual alarms, and interrupt the operations of the siege: they endeavored to surprise the town of Ath by means of a secret correspondence with the inhabitants; but the conspiracy was discovered before it took effect: then they cut off all communication between the besiegers and the Scheldt, the banks of which they fortified with strong intrenchments and a prodigious number of cannon; so that now all the stores and necessities were sent to the camp of the confederates from Ostend. On the twenty-first of September, prince Eugene, who was in the trenches, seeing the troops driven by the enemy from a lodgement they had made on the counterscarp of the tenaille, rallied and led them back to the charge; but being wounded over the left eye with a musket-shot, he was obliged to retire, and for some days the duke of Marlborough sustained the whole command, both in the siege and of the covering army: on the twenty-third the tenaille was stormed, and a lodgement made along the covered way. Marshal Boufflers having

found means to inform the duke de Vendome that his ammunition was almost expended, this general detached the chevalier de Luxemburg, with a body of horse and dragoons, to supply the place with gunpowder, every man carrying a bag of forty pounds on the crupper: they were discovered in passing through the camp of the allies, and pursued to the barrier of the town, into which about 300 were admitted; but a great number were killed by the confederates, or miserably destroyed by the explosion of the powder which they carried.

37. The next attempt of the French generals was to intercept a convoy from Ostend: the count de la Motte marched from Ghent, with about 22,000 men, to attack this convoy, which was guarded by 6000 of the allies, commanded by major-general Webb: this officer made such an admirable disposition by the wood of Wynendale, and received the enemy with such a close fire, that after a very warm action, that lasted two hours, they retired in the utmost confusion, notwithstanding their great superiority in number, leaving 6000 men killed on the field of battle; the loss of the allies not exceeding 912 officers and soldiers: this was the most honorable exploit performed during the whole war, and of such consequence to the confederates, that if the convoy had been taken the siege must have been raised. The duke de Vendome ordered the dykes between Bruges and Newport to be cut, so as to lay the whole country under water, in hopes of destroying the communication between Ostend and the camp of the confederates; and, after a regular siege, he took colonel Caulfield, and a body of British troops posted in the village of Leffinghen, by whose means the convoys had been forwarded to the duke of Marlborough. On the twenty-second of October, marshal Boufflers desired to capitulate for the town of Lisle; next day the articles were signed; on the twenty-fifth the allies took possession of the place, and the marshal retired into the citadel with the remains of his garrison, which from 12,000 was reduced to less than the half of that number: a negotiation was begun for the surrender of the citadel; but Boufflers made such extravagant demands as were rejected with disdain: hostilities were renewed on the twenty-ninth of the month; and the earl of Stair was detached to provide corn for the army in the districts of Furnes and Dixmuyde. During these transactions, velt-mareschal D'Auverquerque died at Rouselaer, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, after having, in

above thirty campaigns, exhibited innumerable proofs of uncommon courage, ability, and moderation. The duke de Vendome did not despair of obliging the confederates to abandon their enterprise: the French ministers at Rome and Venice publicly declared the allied army was cooped up in such a manner, that it must either raise the siege or be famished: the elector of Bavaria, with a detachment of 10,000 men, marched to Brussels, and attacked the counterscarp with incredible fury; but was repulsed by the garrison, under the command of general Paschal, and retired with precipitation when he understood that the duke of Marlborough was in motion to relieve the place. This nobleman and prince Eugene no sooner understood the danger to which Brussels was exposed, than they marched with the covering army to the Scheldt, which they passed on pontoons without opposition, notwithstanding the formidable works which the French had raised: they now abandoned them with precipitation, to the surprise of the confederates, who had laid their account with the loss of 1000 men in the attack: having passed the river between Eskenaffe and Hauterive, as well as at other places, they marched to Oudenard, where they received intelligence that the elector had retreated: then prince Eugene returned to Lisle, and the duke of Marlborough proceeded to Brussels, where he was received with joy and acclamation: he afterwards took post at Oudenard, so as to maintain a communication with prince Eugene.

38. The besiegers, having made lodgements and raised batteries on the second counterscarp of the citadel, sent a message to Boufflers, intimating that if he would surrender before the opening of the batteries he should have an honorable capitulation, otherwise he and his garrison must be made prisoners of war: he chose to avoid the last part of the alternative; hostages were exchanged on the eighth of December, and the articles signed on the tenth, when the marshal and his garrison marched out with the honors of war, and were conducted to Douay. In this great enterprise, spirit and perseverance made amends for want of foresight and skill, which was flagrant on the side of the confederates; yet their success was owing in a great measure to the improvidence and misconduct of the besieged: the French generals never dreamed that the allies would attempt any thing of consequence after the reduction of Lisle, considering the advanced season of the year, and therefore they returned to Paris, after having distributed their army into winter-

quarters ; but their indefatigable antagonists were determined to strike another stroke of importance before their forces should separate : on the twentieth of December they invested the city of Ghent on all sides ; and on the thirtieth, when the batteries were ready to open, the count de la Motte, who commanded the garrison, desired to capitulate : on the third of the next month he marched out with thirty battalions and sixteen squadrons, which were conducted to Tournay ; while the duke of Argyle, with six British battalions, took possession of the town and citadel : then the enemy abandoned Bruges, Plassendahl, and Leffengen ; and the generals of the allies, having settled the plan of winter-quarters, repaired to Holland, leaving their forces under the command of count Tilly. Thé French king was confounded and dismayed at these conquests in the Netherlands ; nor was he easy on the side of Dauphiny : in spite of all the vigilance and activity of Villars, the duke of Savoy made himself master of the important fortresses of Exilles, La Perouse, the valley of St. Martin, and Fenestrelle ; so that by the end of the campaign he had secured a barrier to his own frontiers, and opened a way into the French provinces, after having made a diversion in favor of king Charles, by obliging the enemy to send a strong detachment from Rousillon to the assistance of Villars.

39. The campaign in Catalonia was productive of a great event : count Guido de Staremburg arrived at Barcelona on the last day of April ; but the imperial troops brought from Italy by admiral Leake did not land in time to relieve Tortosa, which the duke of Orleans besieged and took, together with Denia, the garrison of which were made prisoners of war, contrary to the articles of capitulation : these losses, however, were abundantly made up to the allies by the conquest of Sardinia and Minorca. Sir John Leake, having taken on board a handful of troops, under the conduct of the marquis D'Alconzel, set sail for Cagliari, and summoned the viceroy to submit to king Charles : as he did not send an immediate answer, the admiral began to bombard the city, and the inhabitants compelled him to surrender at discretion : the greater part of the garrison enlisted themselves in the service of Charles : the deputies of the States being assembled by the marquis D'Alconzel, acknowledged that prince as their sovereign, and agreed to furnish his army with 30,000 sacks of corn, which were accordingly transported to Catalonia, where there was a great scarcity

of provision. Major-general Stanhope having planned the conquest of Minorca, and concerted with the admiral the measures necessary to put it in execution, obtained from count Staremburg a few battalions of Spaniards, Italians, and Portuguese: at the head of these he embarked at Barcelona with a fine train of British artillery, accompanied by brigadier Wade and colonel Petit, an engineer of great reputation: they landed on the island about two miles from St. Philip's fort, on the twenty-sixth of August, with about 800 marines, which augmented their number to about 3000: next day they erected batteries; and general Stanhope ordered a number of arrows to be shot into the place, to which papers were affixed, written in the Spanish and French languages, containing threats, that all the garrison should be sent to the mines if they would not surrender before the batteries were finished: the garrison consisted of 1000 Spaniards and 600 French marines commanded by colonel la Jonquire, who imagined that the number of the besiegers amounted to at least 10,000, so artfully had they been drawn up in sight of the enemy: the batteries began to play, and in a little time demolished four towers that served as outworks to the fort: then they made a breach in the outward wall, through which brigadier Wade, at the head of the grenadiers, stormed a redoubt with such extraordinary valor as struck the besieged with consternation: on the second or third day they thought proper to beat a parley, and capitulate, on condition that they should march out with the honors of war; that the Spaniards should be transported to Murcia, and the French to Toulon: these last, however, were detained, by way of reprisal for the garrison of Denia. The Spanish governor was so mortified when he learned the real number of the besiegers, that on his arrival at Murcia he threw himself out of a window in despair, and was killed on the spot: La Jonquire was confined for life: and all the French officers incurred their master's displeasure. Fort St. Philip being thus reduced, to the amazement of all Europe, and the garrison of Fort Fornelles having surrendered themselves prisoners to the admirals Leake and Whitaker, the inhabitants gladly submitted to the English government, for king Philip had oppressed and deprived them of their privileges; general Stanhope appointed colonel Petit governor of Fort St. Philip, and deputy-governor of the whole island. After this important conquest he returned to the army in Spain, where

an unsuccessful attempt to surprise Tortosa finished the operations of the campaign.

40. The British fleet not only contributed to the reduction of Minorca, but likewise overawed the pope, who had endeavored to form a league of the princes in Italy against the emperor: this pontiff had manifested his partiality to the house of Bourbon in such a palpable manner, that his imperial majesty ordered Monsieur de Bonneval to march with the troops that were in Italy, reinforced by those belonging to the duke of Modena, and invade the duchy of Ferrara: he accordingly took possession of Comachio and some other places, pretending they were allodial estates belonging to the duke of Modena, and fiefs of the emperor, to which the holy see had no lawful claim: the viceroy of Naples was forbid to remit any money to Rome; and the council of the kingdom drew up a long memorial, containing the pretensions of his catholic majesty, which struck at the very foundation of the pope's temporal power: his holiness wrote a long remonstrance to the emperor on the injustice of those proceedings, and declared that he would assert his cause though he should lose his life in the contest: he forthwith began to raise an army, and revived a plan of forming a league among the princes and states of Italy for their mutual defence. Sir John Leake had received orders to bombard Civita Vecchia, in resentment for the pope's having countenanced the pretender's expedition to Great Britain; but as the emperor and duke of Savoy hoped to effect an accommodation with the court of Rome, they prevailed on the English admiral to suspend hostilities until they should have tried the method of negociation: the marquis de Prie, a Piedmontese nobleman, was sent as ambassador to Rome; but the pope would not receive him in that quality: elated with the promises of France, he set the emperor at defiance; and his troops having surprised a body of imperialists, were so barbarous as to cut them all in pieces. The duke of Savoy having ended the campaign, the troops of the emperor, which had served under that prince, were ordered to march into the papal territories, and drove the forces of his holiness before them, without any regard to number: Bologna capitulated; and Rome began to tremble with the apprehension of being once more sacked by a German army: then the pope's courage failed: he was glad to admit the marquis de Prie as envoy from the emperor: he consented to disband his new levies; to accommodate the

imperial troops with winter-quarters in the papal territories ; to grant the investiture of Naples to king Charles ; and to allow at all times a passage to the imperial troops through his dominions. On the Upper Rhine the electors of Bavaria and Hanover were so weak, that they could not undertake any thing of consequence against each other : in Hungary the disputes still continued between the emperor and the malcontents : Poland was at length delivered from the oppression exercised by the king of Sweden, who marched into the Ukraine against the czar of Muscovy, notwithstanding the submission with which that monarch endeavored to appease his indignation. During the course of this year the English merchants sustained no considerable losses by sea : the cruisers were judiciously stationed, and the trade was regularly supplied with convoys : in the West-Indies commodore Wager destroyed the admiral of the galleons, and took the rear-admiral on the coast of Carthage : had the officers of his squadron done their duty, the greatest part of the fleet would have fallen into his hands : at his return to Jamaica, two of his captains were tried by a court-martial, and dismissed from the service.

41. The court of England was about this time not a little disquieted by the consequences of an outrage committed on the person of the count de Matueof, the Muscovite ambassador : he was publicly arrested at the suit of a laceman, and maltreated by the bailiffs, who dragged him to prison, where he continued until he was bailed by the earl of Feversham : incensed at this insult, he demanded redress of the government, and was seconded in his remonstrances by the ministers of the emperor, the king of Prussia, and several other foreign potentates : the queen expressed uncommon indignation against the authors of this violence, who were immediately apprehended, and orders were given to prosecute them with the utmost severity of the law. Matueof repeated his complaints with great acrimony ; and Mr. secretary Boyle assured him, in the queen's name, that he should have ample satisfaction : notwithstanding this assurance, he demanded a pass for himself and family, refused the ordinary presents at his departure, and retired to Holland : from thence he transmitted a memorial, with a letter from the czar to the queen, insisting on her punishing with death all the persons concerned in violating the law of nations on the person of his ambassador : such punishment being altogether inconsistent with the laws of England, the queen and her

ministry were extremely perplexed, and held several councils, to deliberate on the measures proper to be taken on such an occasion. On the twenty-eighth of October, prince George of Denmark died of an asthma and dropsy, with which he had been long afflicted: he was a prince of an amiable rather than a shining character, brave, good-natured, modest, and humane, but devoid of great talents and ambition: he had always lived in harmony with the queen, who during the whole term of their union, and especially in his last illness, approved herself a pattern of conjugal truth and tenderness: at his death the earl of Pembroke was created lord high-admiral, the earl of Wharton promoted to the government of Ireland, and lord Somers appointed president of the council. Notwithstanding these promotions of the whig noblemen, the duke of Marlborough declined apace in his credit with the queen, who privately consulted and reposed her chief confidence in Mr. Harley, though he had no visible concern in the administration.

42. The new parliament, in which the whig interest still preponderated, was assembled on the sixteenth of November, when they were given to understand, by a commission under the great seal, that the archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor, the lord treasurer, the lord steward, and the master of the horse were appointed to represent the person of her majesty, whom decency would not permit to appear in the house so soon after the death of her consort. Sir Richard Onslow being chosen speaker of the lower house with the queen's approbation, the chancellor, in a speech to both houses, recommended the vigorous prosecution of the war, telling them her majesty hoped they would enable her to make a considerable augmentation for preserving and improving the advantages which the allies had gained in the Netherlands; that she desired they would prepare such bills as might confirm and render the union effectual; and that if they would propose means for the advancement of trade and manufacture, she would take pleasure in enacting such provisions. Both houses having presented addresses of condolence and congratulation, on the death of prince George, and the success of her majesty's arms during the last campaign, the commons took cognisance of controverted elections, which were decided with shameful partiality for the whig faction: then they proceeded to consider the different branches of the supply: they approved of an augmentation of 10,000 men, which was judged necessary for the more

vigorous prosecution of the war; and they voted above £7,000,000 for the service of the ensuing year: the Bank agreed to circulate £2,500,000 in exchequer bills for the government, on condition that the term of their continuance should be prolonged for one and twenty years; and that their stock of £2,201,171 should be doubled by a new subscription: the two-thirds subsidy was appropriated for the interest of the money raised by this expedient.

43. Great debates having arisen about Scottish elections, the house considered the petitions and representations that were delivered, touching the incapacity of the eldest sons of Scottish peers, excluded from sitting in the parliament of Great Britain: counsel being heard on the subject, that incapacity was confirmed, and new writs were issued, that new members might be elected for the shires of Aberdeen and Linlithgow, in the room of William lord Haddo, and James lord Johnstoun: petitions were likewise presented to the house of lords by some Scottish peers, concerning their right of voting, and signing proxies: after warm debates, the house, on a division, determined that a Scottish lord created a peer of Great Britain should no longer retain his vote in Scotland; and that the noblemen who were in the castle of Edinburgh had a right to sign proxies, after having taken the oaths to the government. The Scottish peers and commoners that sat in the British parliament were divided into two factions: the duke of Queensbury was in great credit with the queen and the lord treasurer, by whose interest he was appointed secretary of state for Scotland: his influence in elections was so great, that all offices in that kingdom were bestowed according to his recommendation: he was opposed by the dukes of Hamilton, Montrose, and Roxburgh, who were supported by the earl of Sunderland and lord Somers; so that the whole interest in that country was engrossed by one or other member of the ministry. A bill for a general naturalisation of all protestants was brought into the house; and notwithstanding violent opposition from the tories, both among the lords and commons, was enacted into a law: the whigs argued for this bill, as a measure that would encourage industry, improve trade and manufacture, and repair the waste of men which the war had occasioned; but one of their chief motives was to throw an addition of foreigners into the balance against the landed interest: the tories pleaded that a conflux of aliens might prove dangerous to the constitu-

tion; that they would retain a fondness for their native countries, and, in times of war, act as spies and enemies; that they would insinuate themselves into places of trust and profit; become members of parliament; and by frequent intermarriages contribute to the extinction of the English race; that they would add to the number of the poor, already so expensive; and share the bread of the laborers and tradesmen of England.

44. An inquiry being set on foot in both houses concerning the late intended invasion of Scotland, lord Haversham and the other tory members endeavored to demonstrate that proper precautions had not been taken for the security of that kingdom, even after the ministry had received undoubted intelligence of the pretender's design; that since the attempt had miscarried, many persons of quality had been apprehended, and severely used by the government, on pretended suspicion of high-treason; though in all probability, the aim of the ministry, in confining those persons, was to remove all possibility of their opposing the court at the ensuing elections for members of parliament: these assertions were supported by many uncontested facts and shrewd arguments, notwithstanding which, the majority were so little disposed to find fault, that the inquiry issued in a joint address to the queen, containing resolutions, that timely and effectual care had been taken to disappoint the designs of her majesty's enemies both at home and abroad: a bill, however, was brought into the house of lords, under the title of 'an act for improving the union of the two kingdoms:' it related to trials for treason in Scotland, which by this law were regulated according to the manner of proceeding in England, with some small variation: the Scottish members opposed it as an encroachment on the form of their laws; and they were joined by those who had laid it down as a maxim to oppose all the court measures; nevertheless the bill passed through both houses, and received the royal assent: yet, in order to sweeten this unpalatable medicine, the queen consented to an act of grace, by which all treasons were pardoned, except those committed on the high seas; an exception levelled at those who had embarked with the pretender. Major-general Webb, who had been defrauded of his due honor in a partial representation of the battle of Wynendale transmitted by Cardonnell, secretary to the duke of Marlborough, was now thanked by the house of commons for the great and eminent services

which he had performed in that engagement :¹⁸ this motion was made by the Tories ; and the Whigs did not fail to procure a compliment of the same nature to the duke of Marlborough, even before he returned to England : when the news of Ghent's being taken arrived, the lords and commons congratulated the queen on this last effort of a glorious campaign ; and the duke, at his arrival, was thanked, in the name of the peers, by the lord chancellor : as he was supposed to have brought over proposals of peace, the two houses, in an address, desired the queen would insist on the demolition of Dunkirk, which was a nest of pirates that infested the ocean, and did infinite prejudice to the commerce of England : the queen promised to comply with their request ; but she was not a little surprised at the next address they presented, humbly entreating that she would have such indulgence to the hearty desires of her subjects, as to entertain thoughts of a second marriage : she told them, that the provision she had made for the protestant succession would always be a proof how much she had at heart the future happiness of the kingdom ; but the subject of this address was of such a nature, that she was persuaded they did not expect a particular answer.

45. The laws having been found insufficient to punish capitally the authors of the insult offered to the Muscovite ambassador, a bill was brought into the house of commons for preserving the privileges of ambassadors and other foreign ministers, and passed through both houses ; as did another, to prevent the laying of wagers relating to the public ; a practice which had been carried to a degree of infatuation, and by which many unwary persons fell a sacrifice to crafty adventurers. On the fourteenth of March, 1709, the commons voted the sum of £103,203, for the relief of the inhabitants of Nevis and St. Christopher, who had suffered by the late invasion ; and on the twenty-first of April the parliament was prorogued. The Muscovite ambassador continued to write expostulatory letters to Mr. secretary Boyle, who at last owned that the laws of the kingdom did not admit of such punishment as he demanded : an information was tried in the court of queen's-bench for her majesty against Thomas Morton, laceman, and thirteen other persons

¹⁸ Burnet. Daniel. History of the Duke of Marlborough. Milan's History. Tindal. Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough. Feuquieres. Quincy. Lives of the Admirals. Hare. Voltaire.

concerned, in the insult, of which they were found guilty; and the special matter of the privileges of ambassadors was to be argued next term before the judges: meanwhile, the queen, by way of satisfaction to the czar, condescended to make solemn excuses by her ambassador, to repair Matueof's honor by a letter, and indemnify him for all his costs and damages; concessions with which the czar and his ambassador declared themselves well satisfied. The convocation had been summoned, chosen, and returned with the new parliament; but as the old spirit was supposed to prevail in the lower house, the queen, by writ to the archbishop, ordered him to prorogue it from time to time until the session of parliament was finished.

CHAP. X.

ANNE (CONTINUED.)—1709.

1. Negotiation for peace ineffectual—2. The allied army besieges and takes Tournay—3. The French are defeated at Malplaquet—4. Mons surrendered—5. Campaign in Spain—6. The French king's proposals of treating rejected by the States-General—7. Account of Dr. Sacheverel—8. He is impeached by the commons—9. His trial—10. Debates on it in the house of lords—11. He is silenced for three years—12. Conferences at Gertruydenburg—13. Pride and obstinacy of the Dutch—14. Douay besieged and taken by the confederates, as well as Bethune, Aire, and St. Venant—15. King Charles obtains a victory over Philip at Saragossa, and enters Madrid—16. Battle of Villaviciosa—17. The whig ministry disgraced—18. The parliament is dissolved—19. Meeting of the new parliament—20. The duke of Marlborough insulted and reviled—21. Inquiry into the conduct of the war in Spain—22. Severe votes in the house of commons against those who invited over the poor palatines—23. Harley stabbed at the council-board by Guiscard, and created earl of Oxford—24. Death of the emperor Joseph—25. Representation by the commons to the queen—26. Proceedings in the convocation—27. The Duke of Marlborough continues to command the allied army—28. He surprises the French lines—29. Reduces Bouchain—30. The duke of Argyle commands the British troops in Spain. King Charles elected emperor—31. Expedition to Canada—32. Insolence of the Jacobites in Scotland—33. A negotiation set on foot between the courts of France and England—34. Prior is sent to Fontainebleau—35. Menager arrives privately in England—36. The French king's proposals disagreeable to the allies—37. Violent debates on them in the house of lords—38. The duke of Hamilton's title of duke of Brandon disallowed. Bill against occasional conformity passes—39. Duke of Marlborough dismissed from all his employments. Twelve new peers created—40. Prince Eugene of Savoy arrives in England—41. Walpole expelled the house of commons—42. Votes against the duke of Marlborough—43. Resolutions against the barrier-treaty and the Dutch—44. Acts unfavorable to the presbyterian discipline in Scotland.

1. THE French king was by this time reduced to such a state of humiliation by the losses of the last campaign, and a severe winter, which completed the misery of his subjects, that he resolved to sacrifice all the considerations of pride and ambition, as well as the interest of his grandson, to his

desire of peace, which was now become so necessary and indispensable : he despatched the president Rouillé privately to Holland, with general proposals of peace, and the offer of a good barrier to the States-General, still entertaining hopes of being able to detach them from the confederacy : this minister conferred in secret with Buys and Vanderdussen, the pensionaries of Amsterdam and Gouda, at Moerdijke, from whence he was permitted to proceed to Woerden, between Leyden and Utrecht : the States immediately communicated his proposals to the courts of Vienna and Great Britain : prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough arrived at the Hague in April, and conferred with the grand pensionary Heinsius, Buys, and Vanderdussen, on the subject of the French proposals, which were deemed unsatisfactory : Rouillé immediately despatched a courier to Paris for farther instructions ; and the duke of Marlborough returned to England, to make the queen acquainted with the progress of the negociation. Louis, in order to convince the States of his sincerity, sent the marquis de Torcy, his secretary for foreign affairs, to the Hague, with fresh offers, to which the deputies would make no answer until they knew the sentiments of the queen of Great Britain : the duke of Marlborough crossed the seas a second time, accompanied by the lord viscount Townshend, as ambassador extraordinary, and joint plenipotentiary : prince Eugene being likewise at the Hague, the conferences were begun. The French minister declared that his master would consent to the demolition of Dunkirk ; that he would abandon the pretender, and dismiss him from his dominions ; that he would acknowledge the queen's title and the protestant succession ; that he would renounce all pretensions to the Spanish monarchy, and cede the places in the Netherlands which the States-General demanded for their barrier ; that he would treat with the emperor on the footing of the treaty concluded at Ryswick, and even demolish the fortifications of Strasburg : the ministers of the allies, rendered proud and wanton by success, and seeing their own private interest in the continuation of the war, insisted on the restitution of the Upper and Lower Alsace to the empire ; on the French monarch's restoring Strasburg in its present condition ; on his ceding the town and castellany of Lisle, demolishing Dunkirk, New Brisac, Fort Louis, and Hunningen : in a word, their demands were so insolent, that Louis would not have suffered them to be mentioned in his hearing, had not he been reduced to the

last degree of distress: one can hardly read them without feeling a sentiment of compassion for that monarch, who had once given law to Europe, and been so long accustomed to victory and conquest. Notwithstanding the discouraging despatches he had received from the president Rouillé, after his first conferences with the deputies, he could not believe that the Dutch would be so blind to their own interest, as to reject the advantages in commerce, and the barrier which he had offered: he could not conceive that they would choose to bear the burden of excessive taxes in prosecuting a war, the events of which would always be uncertain; rather than enjoy the blessings of peace, security, and advantageous commerce: he flattered himself, that the allies would not so far deviate from their purposed aim of establishing a balance of power, as to throw such an enormous weight into the scale of the house of Austria, which cherished all the dangerous ambition and arbitrary principles, without the liberality of sentiment peculiar to the house of Bourbon. In proportion as they rose in their demands, Louis fell in his condescension: his secretary of state, the marquis de Torcy, posted in disguise to Holland, on the faith of a common blank passport: he solicited, he soothed, he supplicated, and made concessions in the name of his sovereign: he found the States were wholly guided by the influence of prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough: he found these generals elated, haughty, overbearing, and implacable: he in private attacked the duke of Marlborough on his weakest side; he offered to that nobleman a large sum of money, provided he would effect a peace on certain conditions: the proposal was rejected: the duke found his enemies in England increasing, and his credit at court in the wane; and he knew that nothing but a continuation of the war and new victories could support his influence in England. Torcy was sensible that his country was utterly exhausted; that Louis dreaded nothing so much as the opening of the campaign; and he agreed to those articles on which they insisted as preliminaries: the French king was confounded at these proposals: he felt the complicated pangs of grief, shame, and indignation: he rejected the preliminaries with disdain: he even deigned to submit his conduct to the judgment of his subjects: his offers were published, together with the demands of the allies: his people interested themselves in the glory of their monarch: they exclaimed against the cruelty and arrogance of his

enemies: though impoverished and half-starved by the war, they resolved to expend their whole substance in his support; and rather to fight his battles without pay, than leave him in the dire necessity of complying with such dishonorable terms. Animated by these sentiments, they made such efforts as amazed the whole world: the preliminaries being rejected by the French king, Rouillé was ordered to quit Holland in four-and-twenty hours, and the generals of the confederates resolved to open the campaign without farther hesitation.

2. Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough proceeded to Flanders, and towards the end of June the allied army encamped in the plain of Lisle, to the number of 110,000 fighting men: at the same time, marshal Villars, accounted the most fortunate general in France, assembled the French forces in the plain of Lens, where he began to throw up intrenchments: the confederate generals having observed his situation, and perceiving he could not be attacked with any probability of success, resolved to undertake the siege of Tournay, the garrison of which Villars had imprudently weakened: accordingly, they made a feint on Ypres, in order to deceive the enemy, and convert all their attention to that side; while they suddenly invested Tournay on the twenty-seventh of June: though the garrison did not exceed twelve weakened battalions, and four squadrons of dragoons, the place was so strong, both by art and nature, and lieutenant de Surville, the governor, possessed such admirable talents, that the siege was protracted, contrary to the expectation of the allies, and cost them a great number of men, notwithstanding all the precautions that could be taken for the safety of the troops: as the besiegers proceeded by the method of sap, their miners frequently met with those of the enemy under ground, and fought with bayonet and pistol: the volunteers on both sides presented themselves to these subterraneous combats, in the midst of mines and countermines ready primed for explosion: sometimes they were kindled by accident, and sometimes sprung by design; so that great numbers of those brave men were stifled below, and whole battalions blown into the air, or buried in the rubbish. On the twenty-eighth of July, the besiegers having effected a practicable breach, and made the necessary dispositions for a general assault, the enemy offered to capitulate: the town was surrendered on conditions, and the garrison retired to the citadel: Surville

likewise entered into a treaty about giving up the citadel: the articles being sent to the court of Versailles, Louis would not ratify them, except on condition that there should be a general cessation in the Netherlands till the fifth of September. Hostilities were renewed on the eighth of August, and prosecuted with uncommon ardor and animosity: on the thirtieth, Surville desired to capitulate on certain articles, which were rejected by the duke of Marlborough, who gave him to understand that he had no terms to expect, but must surrender at discretion: at length, his provision being quite exhausted, he was obliged to surrender himself and his garrison prisoners of war, though they were permitted to return to France, on giving their parole that they would not act in the field until a like number of the allies should be released.

3. The next object that attracted the eyes of the confederates was the city of Mons, which they resolved to besiege with all possible expedition: they passed the Scheldt on the third of September, and detached the prince of Hesse to attack the French lines from the Haisne to the Sambre, which were abandoned at his approach. On the seventh of September, marshal de Boufflers arrived in the French camp at Quevrain, content to act in an inferior capacity to Villars, although his superior in point of seniority: the duke of Marlborough, having received advice that the French were on their march to attack the advanced body under the prince of Hesse, decamped from Havre, in order to support that detachment: on the ninth the allies made a motion to the left, by which the two armies were brought so near each other, that a mutual cannonading ensued. The French army, amounting to 120,000 men, were posted behind the woods of La Merte and Tanieres, in the neighborhood of Malplaquet: the confederates, nearly of the same number, encamped with the right near Sart and Bleron, and the left on the edge of the wood of Lagniere; the head-quarters being at Blaregnies. The enemy, instead of attacking the allies, began to fortify their camp, which was naturally strong, with triple intrenchments: in a word, they were so covered with lines, hedges, intrenchments, cannon, and trees laid across, that they seemed to be quite inaccessible: had the confederates attacked them on the ninth, the battle would not have been so bloody, and the victory would have proved more decisive, for they had not then begun to secure the camp; but Marlborough postponed the engagement until they should be

reinforced by eighteen battalions which had been employed in the siege of Tournay; and in the mean time, the French fortified themselves with incredible diligence and despatch. On the eleventh of September, early in the morning, the confederates, favored by a thick fog, erected batteries on each wing, and in the centre; and about eight o'clock, the weather clearing up, the attack began: eighty-six battalions on the right, commanded by general Schuylenburg, the duke of Argyle, and other generals, and supported by two-and-twenty battalions under count Lottum, attacked the left of the enemy with such vigor, that notwithstanding their lines and barricados, they were in less than an hour driven from their intrenchments into the woods of Sart and Tanieres: the prince of Orange and baron Fagel, with six-and-thirty Dutch battalions, advanced against the right of the enemy, posted in the wood of La Merte, and covered with three intrenchments. Here the battle was maintained with the most desperate courage on both sides: the Dutch obliged the French to quit the first intrenchment, but were repulsed from the second with great slaughter: the prince of Orange persisted in his efforts with incredible perseverance and intrepidity, even after two horses had been killed under him, and the greater part of his officers either slain or disabled: the French fought with an obstinacy of courage that bordered on despair, till seeing their lines forced, their left wing and centre giving way, and their general, Villars, dangerously wounded, they made an excellent retreat towards Bavay, under the conduct of Boufflers, and took post between Quesnoy and Valenciennes: the field of battle they abandoned to the confederates, with about forty colors and standards, sixteen pieces of artillery, and a good number of prisoners; but this was the dearest victory the allies had ever purchased: about 20,000 of their best troops were killed in the engagement; whereas the enemy did not lose half that number, and retired at leisure, perfectly recovered of that apprehension with which they had been for some years inspired and overawed by the successes of their adversaries. On the side of the allies, count Lottum, general Tettau, count Oxenstiern, and the marquis of Tullibardine were killed, with many other officers of distinction: prince Eugene was slightly wounded on the head; lieutenant-general Webb received a shot in the groin: the duke of Argyle, who distinguished himself by extraordinary feats of valor, escaped unhurt; but several musket-balls penetrated through his clothes, his hat, and periwig: in the French

army, the chevalier de St. George charged twelve times with the household troops, and in the last was wounded with a sword in the arm. Marshal de Villars confidently asserted, that if he himself had not been disabled, the confederates would certainly have been defeated.

4. Considering the situation of the French, the number of their troops, and the manner in which they were fortified, nothing could be more rash and imprudent than the attack, which cost the lives of so many gallant men, and was attended with so little advantage to the conquerors: perhaps the duke of Marlborough thought a victory was absolutely necessary to support his sinking interest at the court of Great Britain: his intention was to have given battle before the enemy had intrenched themselves; but prince Eugene insisted on delaying the action until the reinforcement should arrive from Tournay: the extraordinary carnage is imputed to the impetuosity of the prince of Orange, whose aim, through this whole war, was to raise himself into consideration with the States-General by signal acts of military prowess. The French having retired to Valenciennes, the allies were left at liberty to besiege Mons, which capitulated about the end of October; and both armies were distributed in winter-quarters. The campaign on the Rhine produced nothing but one sharp action, between a detachment of the French army commanded by the count de Borgh, and a body of troops under count Merci, who had passed the Rhine, in order to penetrate into Franche Comté: the imperial officer was worsted in this encounter, with the loss of 2000 men; obliged to repass the river, and retire to Friburg. In Piedmont, velt-mareschal Thaun commanded the confederates, in the room of the duke of Savoy, who refused to take the field, until some differences, which had arisen between the emperor and him, should be adjusted: Thaun's design was to besiege Briançon; but the duke of Berwick had taken such precautions as frustrated his intention, though part of the troops under the French general were employed in suppressing an insurrection of the Camisars, and other malcontents in the Vivarez: they were intirely defeated in a pitched battle; and Abraham, one of their leaders, being taken, was broken alive on the wheel; three-and-twenty were hanged, and the other prisoners sent to the galleys. The pope delayed acknowledging king Charles under various pretences, in hopes that the campaign would prove favorable to the house of Bourbon; till at length the emperor giving him to understand

that his army should take up their winter-quarters in the ecclesiastical state, his holiness solemnly owned Charles as king of Spain, Naples, and Sicily.

5. The military operations in Spain and Portugal were unfavorable to the allies : on the seventh of May, the Portuguese and English were defeated at Caya, by the Spaniards, under the command of marshal de Bay : the castle of Alicant, guarded by two English regiments, had been besieged, and held out during a whole winter : at length, the chevalier d'Asfeldt ordered the rock to be undermined ; and having lodged 300 barrels of gunpowder, gave Syburg, the governor, to understand, that two of his officers might come out and see the condition of the works : this offer being accepted, Asfeldt in person accompanied them to the mine : he told them he could not bear the thoughts of seeing so many brave men perish in the ruins of a place they had so gallantly defended ; and allowed them four-and-twenty hours to consider on the resolution they should take : Syburg continued deaf to his remonstrances ; and, with an obstinacy that savored more of stupidity than of valor, determined to stand the explosion. When the sentinels that were posted on the side of the hill gave notice, by a preconcerted signal, that fire was set to the mine, the governor ordered the guard to retire, and walked out to the parade, accompanied by several officers : the mine being sprung, the rock opened under their feet, and they falling into the chasm, it instantly closed, and crushed them to death. Notwithstanding this dreadful incident, colonel d'Albon, who succeeded to the command, resolved to defend the place to the last extremity : Sir Edward Whitaker sailed from Barcelona to the relief of the place ; but the enemy had erected such works as effectually hindered the troops from landing : then general Stanhope, who commanded them, capitulated with the Spanish general for the garrison, which marched out with all the honors of war, and was transported to Minorca, where the men were put into quarters of refreshment. On the frontiers of Catalonia, general Staremburg maintained his ground, and even annoyed the enemy : he passed the Segra, and reduced Balaguer : having left a strong garrison in the place, he repossessed the river, and sent his forces into winter-quarters. The most remarkable event of this summer was the battle of Pultowa, in which the king of Sweden was intirely defeated by the czar of Muscovy, and obliged to take refuge at Bender, a town of Moldavia, in the Turkish dominions :

Augustus immediately marched into Poland against Stanislaus, and renounced his own resignation, as if it had been the effect of compulsion : he formed a project with the kings of Denmark and Prussia to attack the Swedish territories in three different places ; but the emperor and maritime powers prevented the execution of this scheme, by entering into a guarantee for preserving the peace of the empire : nevertheless, the king of Denmark declared war against Sweden, and transported an army over the Sound of Schonen ; but they were attacked and defeated by the Swedes, and obliged to re-embark with the utmost precipitation. The war still continued to rage in Hungary, where however the revolvers were routed in many petty engagements.

6. Though the events of the summer had been less unfavorable to France than Louis had reason to expect, he saw that peace was as necessary as ever to his kingdom ; but he thought he might now treat with some freedom and dignity : his minister Torcy maintained a correspondence with Mr. Petkum, resident of the duke of Holstein at the Hague : he proposed to this minister, that the negociation should be renewed ; and demanded passes, by virtue of which the French plenipotentiaries might repair in safety to Holland : in the mean time, the French king withdrew his troops from Spain, on pretence of demonstrating his readiness to oblige the allies in that particular ; though this measure was the effect of necessity, which obliged him to recall those troops for the defence of his own dominions. The States-General refused to grant passes to the French ministers ; but they allowed Petkum to make a journey to Versailles : in the interim king Philip published a manifesto, protesting against all that should be transacted at the Hague to his prejudice : far from yielding Spain and the Indies to his competitor, he declared his intention of driving Charles from those places that were now in his possession : he named the duke of Alba and count Bergheyck for his plenipotentiaries, and ordered them to notify their credentials to the maritime powers ; but no regard was paid to their intimation : Philip tampered likewise with the duke of Marlborough ; and the marquis de Torcy renewed his attempts on that general ; but all his application and address proved ineffectual. Petkum brought back from Versailles a kind of memorial, importing that those motives which influenced the French before the campaign was opened no longer subsisted ; that the winter season naturally produced a cessation of arms, during which he would treat

of a general and reasonable peace, without restricting himself to the form of the preliminaries which the allies had pretended to impose; that, nevertheless, he would still treat on the foundation of those conditions to which he had consented, and send plenipotentiaries to begin the conferences with those of the allies on the first of January. The States-General inveighed against this memorial, as a proof of the French king's insincerity; though he certainly had a right to retract those offers they had formerly rejected. They came to a resolution, that it was absolutely necessary to prosecute the war with vigor; and they wrote pressing letters on the subject to all their allies.

7. The parliament of Great Britain being assembled on the fifteenth of November, the queen in her speech told both houses, that the enemy had endeavored, by false appearances and deceitful insinuations of a desire after peace, to create jealousies among the allies; that God Almighty had been pleased to bless the arms of the confederates with a most remarkable victory, and other successes, which had laid France open to the impression of the allied arms, and consequently rendered peace more necessary to that kingdom than it was at the beginning of the campaign: she insisted on the expediency of prosecuting the advantages she had gained, by reducing that exorbitant and oppressive power which had so long threatened the liberties of Europe. The parliament were as eager and compliant as ever: they presented congratulatory addresses; they thanked the duke of Marlborough for his signal services; while great part of the nation reproached him with having wantonly sacrificed so many thousand lives to his own private interest and reputation: in less than a month, the commons granted upwards of £6,000,000 for the service of the ensuing year; and established a lottery, with other funds, to answer this enormous supply. On the thirteenth of December, Mr. Dolben, son to the late archbishop of York, complained to the house of two sermons preached and published by Dr. Henry Sacheverel, rector of St. Saviours, Southwark, as containing positions contrary to revolution principles, to the present government, and the protestant succession. Sacheverel was a clergyman of narrow intellects and an over-heated imagination: he had acquired some popularity among those who distinguished themselves by the name of high-churchmen, and took all occasions to vent his animosity against the dissenters: at the summer assizes at Derby, he had held

forth in that strain before the judges : on the fifth of November, in St. Paul's church, he, in a violent declamation, defended the doctrine of non-resistance ; inveighed against the toleration and dissenters ; declared the church was dangerously attacked by her enemies, and slightly defended by her false friends : he sounded the trumpet for the church, and exhorted the people to put on the whole armor of God : Sir Samuel Garrard, the lord-mayor, countenanced this harangue, which was published under his protection, extolled by the Tories, and circulated all over the nation. The complaint of Mr. Dolben against Sacheverel was seconded in the house of commons by Sir Peter King and other members : the most violent paragraphs were read ; the sermons were voted scandalous and seditious libels : Sacheverel, being brought to the bar of the house, acknowledged himself the author of both, and mentioned the encouragement he had received from the lord-mayor to print that which was entitled, 'The Perils of False Brethren :' Sir Samuel, who was a member, denied he had ever given him such encouragement. The doctor being ordered to withdraw, the house resolved he should be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors ; and Mr. Dolben was ordered to impeach him at the bar of the house of lords, in the name of all the commons of England : a committee was appointed to draw up articles, and Sacheverel was taken into custody : at the same time, in order to demonstrate their own principles, they resolved, that the Reverend Mr. Benjamin Hoadley, rector of St. Peter-le-Poor, for having often justified the principles on which her majesty and the nation proceeded in the late happy revolution, had justly merited the favor and recommendation of the house ; and they presented an address to the queen, beseeching her to bestow some dignity in the church on Mr. Hoadley for his eminent services both to the church and state : the queen returned a civil answer, though she paid no regard to the recommendation. Hoadley was a clergyman of sound understanding, unblemished character, and uncommon moderation, who, in a sermon preached before the lord-mayor of London, had demonstrated the lawfulness of resisting wicked and cruel governors, and vindicated the late revolution : by avowing such doctrines, he incurred the resentment of the high-churchmen, who accused him of having preached up rebellion : many books were written against the maxims he professed : these he answered ; and in the course of the controversy, acquitted himself with su-

perior temper, judgment, and solidity of argument: he, as well as bishop Burnet, and several other prelates, had been treated with great virulence in Sacheverel's sermon; and the lord treasurer was scurrilously abused under the name of Volpone.

8. The doctor, being impeached at the bar of the upper house, petitioned that he might be admitted to bail; but this indulgence was refused, and the commons seemed bent on prosecuting him with such severity as gave disgust to men of moderate principles: meanwhile the tories were not idle: they boldly affirmed that the whigs had formed a design to pull down the church, and that this prosecution was intended to try their strength, before they would proceed openly to the execution of their project: these assertions were supported, and even credited, by great part of the clergy, who did not fail to alarm and inflame their hearers; while emissaries were employed to raise a ferment among the populace, already prepared with discontent arising from a scarcity which prevailed in almost every country of Europe. The ministers magnified the dangers to which the church was exposed from dissenters, whigs, and lukewarm prelates: these they represented as the authors of a ruinous war, which in a little time would produce universal famine; and as the immediate encouragers of those palatine refugees who had been brought over, to the number of 6000, and maintained by voluntary contributions until they could be conveniently transported into Ireland and the plantations in America: the charity bestowed on those unhappy strangers exasperated the poor of England, who felt severely the effects of the dearth, and helped to fill up the measure of popular discontent. The articles against Dr. Sacheverel being exhibited, his person was committed to the deputy-usher of the black rod; but afterwards the lords admitted him to bail: then he drew up an answer to the charge, in which he denied some articles, and others he endeavored to justify or extenuate: the commons having sent up a replication, declaring they were ready to prove the charge, the lords appointed the twenty-seventh of February for the trial in Westminster-hall.

9. The eyes of the whole kingdom were turned on this extraordinary trial: it lasted three weeks, during which all other business was suspended; and the queen herself was every day present, though in quality of a private spectator: the managers for the commons were Sir Joseph Jekyl, Mr.

Eyre, solicitor-general; Sir Peter King, recorder of the city of London; lieutenant-general Stanhope, Sir Thomas Parker, and Mr. Robert Walpole, treasurer of the navy: the doctor was defended by Sir Simon Harcourt and Mr. Phipps, and assisted by Dr. Atterbury, Dr. Smallridge, and Dr. Friend. A vast multitude attended him every day to and from Westminster-hall, striving to kiss his hand, and praying for his deliverance, as if he had been a martyr and confessor: the queen's sedan was beset by the populace, exclaiming, 'God bless your majesty and the church: we hope your majesty is for Dr. Sacheverel.' They compelled all persons to lift their hats to the doctor, as he passed in his coach to the Temple, where he lodged; and among these some members of parliament, who were abused and insulted: they destroyed several meeting houses; plundered the dwelling-houses of eminent dissenters; and threatened to pull down those of the lord chancellor, the earl of Wharton, and the bishop of Sarum: they even proposed to attack the bank; so that the directors were obliged to send to Whitehall for assistance: the horse and foot-guards were immediately sent to disperse the rioters, who fled at their approach: next day the guards were doubled at Whitehall, and the trained bands of Westminster continued in arms during the whole trial. The commons entreated the queen, in an address, to take effectual measures for suppressing the present tumults, set on foot and fomented by papists, nonjurors, and other enemies to her title and government: she expressed a deep sense of their care and concern, as well as a just resentment at these tumultuous and violent proceedings: she published a proclamation for suppressing the tumults; and several persons being apprehended, were afterwards tried for high-treason: two of them were convicted, and sentenced to die; but neither suffered. The commons presented another address of thanks to her majesty for her gracious answer to their first remonstrance: they took this occasion to declare, that the prosecution of the commons against Dr. Henry Sacheverel proceeded only from the indispensable obligation they lay under to vindicate the late happy revolution, the glory of their royal deliverer, her own title and administration, the present established and protestant succession, together with the toleration and the quiet of the government. When the doctor's counsel had finished his defence, he himself recited a speech, wherein he solemnly justified his intentions towards the queen and her government; and spoke in the most

respectful terms of the revolution and the protestant succession! he maintained the doctrine of non-resistance in all cases whatsoever, as a maxim of the church in which he was educated; and by many pathetic expressions endeavored to excite the compassion of the audience: he was surrounded by the queen's chaplains, who encouraged and extolled him as the champion of the church; and he was privately favored by the queen herself, who could not but relish a doctrine so well calculated for the support of regal authority.

10. On the tenth of March, the lords being adjourned to their own house, the earl of Nottingham proposed the following question, 'Whether, in prosecutions by impeachments for high crimes and misdemeanors, by writing or speaking, the particular words supposed to be criminal are necessary to be expressly specified in such impeachments?' The judges being consulted, were unanimously of opinion, that, according to law, the grounds of an indictment or impeachment ought to be expressly mentioned in both: one of the lords having suggested that the judges had delivered their opinions according to the rules of Westminster-hall, and not according to the usage of parliament, the house resolved that in impeachments they should proceed according to the laws of the land, and the law and usage of parliament. On the sixteenth of the month, the queen being in the house incognito, they proceeded to consider whether or not the commons had made good the articles exhibited against Dr. Sacheverel. The earl of Wharton observed, that the doctor's speech was a full confutation and condemnation of his sermon; that all he had advanced about non-resistance and unlimited obedience was false and ridiculous; that the doctrine of passive obedience, as urged by the doctor, was not reconcilable to the practice of churchmen: that if the revolution was not lawful, many in that house, and vast numbers without, were guilty of blood, murder, rapine, and injustice; and that the queen herself was no lawful sovereign, since the best title she had to the crown was her parliamentary title, founded on the revolution: he was answered by the lord Haversham in a long speech. Lord Ferrers said, if the doctor was guilty of some foolish unguarded expressions, he ought to have been tried at common law. The earl of Scarborough observed, the revolution was a nice point, and above the law: he moved that they should adjourn the debate, and take time to consider before they

gave judgment. Dr. Hooper, bishop of Bath and Wells, allowed the necessity and legality of resistance in some extraordinary cases; but was of opinion that this maxim ought to be concealed from the knowledge of the people, who are naturally too apt to resist; that the revolution was not to be boasted of or made a precedent; but that a mantle ought to be thrown over it, and it should be called a vacancy or abdication: he said the original compact were dangerous words, not to be mentioned without great caution; that those who examined the revolution too nicely were no friends to it; and that there seemed to be a necessity for preaching up non-resistance and passive obedience at that time, when resistance was justified. The duke of Argyle affirmed, that the clergy in all ages had delivered up the rights and privileges of the people, preaching up the king's power in order to govern him the more easily; and therefore they ought not to be suffered to meddle with politics. The earl of Anglesea owned the doctor had preached nonsense, but said that was no crime. The duke of Leeds distinguished between resistance and revolution; for had not the last succeeded, it would have certainly been rebellion, since he knew of no other but hereditary right. The bishop of Salisbury justified resistance from the book of Maccabees: he mentioned the conduct of queen Elizabeth, who assisted the Scots, the French, and the States-General in resisting their different sovereigns, and was supported in this practice both by her parliaments and her convocations: he observed that king Charles I. had assisted the citizens of Rochelle in their rebellion; that Manwaring incurred a severe censure from the parliament for having broached the doctrine of the divine right of kings; and that though this became a favorite maxim after the restoration, yet its warmest assertors were the first who pleaded for resistance when they thought themselves oppressed. The archbishop of York, the duke of Buckingham, and other leaders of the tory interest, declared that they never read such a piece of madness and nonsense as Sacheverel's sermon, but they did not think him guilty of a misdemeanor. Next day, Dr. Wake, bishop of Lincoln, accused Sacheverel of having made a strange and false representation of the design for a comprehension, which had been set on foot by archbishop Sancroft, and promoted by the most eminent divines of the church of England: he was of opinion that some step should be taken for putting a stop to such preach'ng, as, if not timely corrected, might kindle heats and

animosities that would endanger both church and state. Dr. Trimnel, bishop of Norwich, expiated on the insolence of Sacheverel, who had arraigned archbishop Grindal, one of the eminent reformers, as a perfidious prelate, for having favored and tolerated the discipline of Geneva: he enlarged on the good effects of the toleration: he took notice of Sacheverel's presumption in publishing inflammatory prayers, declaring himself under persecution, while he was prosecuted for offending against the law, by those who in common justice ought to be thought the fairest accusers; and before their lordships, who were justly acknowledged to be the most impartial judges. In discussing the fourth article, the bishop of Salisbury spoke with great vehemence against Sacheverel, who, by inveighing against the revolution, toleration, and union, seemed to arraign and attack the queen herself; since her majesty had so great a share in the first; had often declared she would maintain the second; and that she looked on the third as the most glorious event of her reign: he affirmed that nothing could be more plain than the doctor's reflecting on her majesty's ministers; and that he had so well marked out a noble peer there present by an ugly and scurrilous epithet which he would not repeat, that it was not possible to mistake his meaning: some of the younger peers could not help laughing at this undesigned sarcasm on the lord treasurer, whom Sacheverel had reviled under the name of Volpone: they exclaimed, 'Name him, name him;' and in all probability the zealous bishop, who was remarkable for absence of mind and unguarded expressions, would have gratified their request, had not the chancellor interposing declared that no peer was obliged to say more than he should think proper.

11. After obstinate disputes and much virulent altercation, Sacheverel was found guilty by a majority of seventeen voices, and four and thirty peers entered a protest against this decision: he was prohibited from preaching for the term of three years; his two sermons were ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, in presence of the lord mayor and the two sheriffs of London and Middlesex: the lords likewise voted, that the executioner should commit to the same fire the famous decree passed in the convocation of the university of Oxford, asserting the absolute authority and indefeisible right of princes: a like sentence was denounced by the commons on a book entitled, 'Collections of Passages referred to by Dr. Sacheverel, in

his answer to the Articles of Impeachment : ' these he had selected from impious books lately published, and they were read by his counsel as proofs that the church was in danger. The lenity of the sentence passed on Sacheverel, which was in a great measure owing to the dread of popular resentment, his friends considered as a victory obtained over a whig faction, and they celebrated their triumph with bonfires and illuminations. On the fifth of April, 1710, the queen ordered the parliament to be prorogued, after having, in her speech to both houses, expressed her concern for the necessary occasion which had taken up great part of their time towards the latter end of the session : ¹⁹ she declared that no prince could have a more true and tender concern for the welfare and prosperity of the church than she had, and should always have ; and she said it was very injurious to take a pretence from wicked and malicious libels, to insinuate that the church was in danger by her administration.

12. The French king, seeing the misery of his people daily increase, and all his resources fail, humbled himself again before the allies, and by the means of Petkum, who still corresponded with his ministers, implored the States-General that the negociation might be resumed : in order to facilitate their consent, he despatched a new project of pacification, in which he promised to renounce his grandson, and to comply with all their other demands, provided the electors of Cologne and Bavaria should be re-established in their estates and dignities : these overtures being rejected, another plan was offered, and communicated to the plenipotentiaries of the emperor and queen of Great Britain : then Petkum wrote a letter to the marquis de Torcy, intimating that the allies required his most christian majesty should declare, in plain and express terms, that he consented to all the preliminaries except the thirty-seventh article, which stipulated a cessation of arms, in case the Spanish monarchy should be delivered to king Charles in the space of two months : he said, the allies would send passports to the French ministers, to treat of an equivalent for that article. Louis was even forced to swallow this bitter draught : he signified his consent, and appointed marshal D'Uxelles and the abbé Polignac his plenipotentiaries : they were not suffered, however, to enter Holland, but were met by the deputies Buys

¹⁹ Burnet. Hare. Torcy. Feuquieres. History of the Duke of Marlborough. Tindal. Voltaire.

and Vanderdussen at Gertruydenburg : meanwhile, the States desired the queen of England to send over the duke of Marlborough to assist them with his advice in these conferences : the two houses of parliament seconded their request in a joint address to her majesty, who told them she had already given directions for his departure ; and said, she was glad to find they concurred with her in a just sense of the duke's eminent services : both the letter and the addresses were procured by the interest of Marlborough to let the queen see how much that nobleman was considered both at home and abroad ; but she was already wholly alienated from him in her heart, and these expedients served only to increase her disgust.

13. The French ministers were subjected to every species of mortification : they were in a manner confined to a small fortified town, and all their conduct narrowly watched : their accommodation was mean, their letters were opened, and they were daily insulted by injurious libels : the Dutch deputies would hear of no relaxation, and no expedient for removing the difficulties that retarded the negotiation. In vain the plenipotentiaries declared, that the French king could not with decency, or the least regard to his honor, wage war against his own grandson : the deputies insisted on his effecting the cession of Spain and the Indies to the house of Austria, and submitting to every other article specified in the preliminaries ; nay, they even reserved to themselves a power of making ulterior demands after the preliminaries should be adjusted. Louis proposed that some small provision should be made for the duke of Anjou, which might induce him to relinquish Spain the more easily : he mentioned the kingdom of Arragon ; and this hint being disagreeable to the allies, he demanded Naples and Sicily : when they urged that Naples was already in possession of the house of Austria, he restricted the provision to Sicily and Sardinia : he offered to deliver up four cautionary towns in Flanders, as a security for Philip's evacuating Spain ; and even promised to supply the confederates with a monthly sum of money, to defray the expense of expelling that prince from his dominions, should he refuse to resign them with a good grace : the substance of all the conferences was communicated to lord Townshend, and count Zinzendorf, the imperial plenipotentiary ; but the conduct of the deputies was regulated by the pensionary Heinsius, who was firmly attached to prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, more averse than ever to a pacification.

The negotiation lasted from the nineteenth of March to the twenty-fifth of July, during which term the conferences were several times interrupted, and a great many despatches and new proposals arrived from Versailles: at length, the plenipotentiaries returned to France, after having sent a letter to the pensionary, in which they declared that the proposals made by the deputies were unjust and impracticable, and complained of the unworthy treatment to which they had been exposed. Louis resolved to hazard another campaign, not without hope that there might be some lucky incident in the events of war, and that the approaching revolution in the English ministry, of which he was well apprised, would be productive of a more reasonable pacification. The States-General resolved, that the enemy had departed from the foundation on which the negotiation had begun, and studied pretences to evade the execution of the capital points, the restitution of Spain and the Indies; and, in short, that France had no other view than to sow and create jealousy and disunion among the allies: lord Townshend, in a memorial, assured them that the queen intirely approved their resolution, and all the steps they had taken in the course of the negotiation; and that she was firmly resolved to prosecute the war with all possible vigor, until the enemy should accept such terms of peace as might secure the tranquillity of the christian world.

14. The conferences did not retard the operations of the campaign: prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough set out from the Hague on the fifteenth of March for Tournay, in order to assemble the forces which were quartered on the Maese, in Flanders, and Brabant: on the twentieth of April, they suddenly advanced to Pont-a-Vendin, in order to attack the lines on which the French had been at work all the winter, hoping by these to cover Douay and other frontier towns, which were threatened by the confederates. The troops left for the defence of the lines retired without opposition: the allies having laid bridges over the scarp, the duke of Marlborough with his division passed the river, and encamped at Vitri: prince Eugene remained on the other side, and invested Douay, the enemy retiring towards Cambray. Marshal Villars still commanded the French army, which was extremely numerous and well-appointed, considering the distress of that kingdom: indeed, the number was augmented by this distress; for many thousands saved themselves from dying of hunger by carrying arms in the

service. The marshal, having assembled all his forces, passed the Scheldt, and encamped at Boucham, declaring that he would give battle to the confederates: an alteration was immediately made in the disposition of the allies, and proper precautions taken for his reception: he advanced in order of battle; but having viewed the situation of the confederates, he marched back to the heights of St. Lawrence, where he fixed his camp: his aim was by continual alarms to interrupt the siege of Douay, which was vigorously defended by a numerous garrison, under the command of Monsieur Albergoti, who made a number of successful sallies, in which the besiegers lost a great number of men: they were likewise repulsed in several assaults; but still proceeded with unremitting vigor, until the besieged, being reduced to the last extremity, were obliged to capitulate on the twenty-sixth of June, fifty days after the trenches had been opened: the generals finding it impracticable to attack the enemy, who were posted within strong lines from Arras towards Miramont, resolved to besiege Bethune, which was invested on the fifteenth of July, and surrendered on the twenty-ninth of August: Villars marched out of his intrenchments with a view to raise the siege; but he did not think proper to hazard an engagement: some warm skirmishes however happened between the foragers of the two armies. After the reduction of Bethune, the allies besieged at one time the towns of Aire and St. Venant, which were taken without much difficulty: then the armies broke up, and marched into winter-quarters.

15. The campaign on the Rhine was productive of no military event; nor was any thing of consequence transacted in Piedmont: the duke of Savoy being indisposed and out of humor, the command of the forces still continued vested in count Thaun, who endeavored to pass the Alps, and penetrated into Dauphiny: but the duke of Berwick had cast up intrenchments in the mountains, and taken such precautions to guard them, as baffled all the attempts of the imperial general. Spain was much more fruitful of military incidents: the horse and dragoons in the army of king Charles, headed by general Stanhope, attacked the whole cavalry of the enemy at Al-mennara: Stanhope charged in person, and with his own hand slew general Amessaga, who commanded the guards of Philip: the Spanish horse were intirely routed, together with nine battalions that escaped by favor of the darkness; and the main body of the army retired with precipitation to

Lerida : general Staremburg pursued them to Saragossa, where he found them drawn up in order of battle; and an engagement ensuing on the ninth of August, the enemy were totally defeated : 5000 of their men were killed, 7000 taken, together with all their artillery, and a great number of colors and standards : king Charles entered Saragossa in triumph, while Philip with the wreck of his army retreated to Madrid : having sent his queen and son to Victoria, he retired to Valladolid, in order to collect his scattered forces, so as to form another army. The good fortune of Charles was of a short duration : Stanhope proposed that he should immediately secure Pampeluna, the only pass by which the French king could send troops to Spain ; but this salutary scheme was rejected : king Charles proceeded to Madrid, which was deserted by all the grandees ; and he had the mortification to see that the Castilians were universally attached to his competitor.

16. While his forces continued cantoned in the neighborhood of Toledo, the king of France, at the request of Philip, sent the duke de Vendome to take the command of the Spanish army, which was at the same time reinforced by detachments of French troops : Vendome's reputation was so high, and his person so beloved by the soldiery, that his presence was almost equivalent to an army. A great number of volunteers immediately assembled to signalise themselves under the eye of this renowned general : the Castilians were inspired with fresh courage, and made surprising efforts in favor of their sovereign ; so that in less than three months after his defeat at Saragossa, he was in a condition to go in quest of his rival : Charles, on the other hand, was totally neglected by the courts of Vienna and Great Britain, which took no steps to supply his wants, or enable him to prosecute the advantages he had gained : in the beginning of November his army marched back to Saragossa, and was cantoned in the neighborhood of Cifuentes, where Staremburg established his head-quarters. General Stanhope, with the British forces, was quartered in the little town of Brihuega, where, on the twenty-seventh of the month, he found himself suddenly surrounded by the whole Spanish army : as the place was not tenable, and he had very little ammunition, he was obliged, after a short but vigorous resistance, to capitulate, and surrender himself and all his forces prisoners of war, to the amount of 2000 men, including three lieutenant-generals, one major-general, one brigadier, with all

the colonels and officers of the respective regiments : he was greatly censured for having allowed himself to be surprised ; for if he had placed a guard on the neighboring hills, according to the advice of general Carpenter, he might have received notice of the enemy's approach time enough to retire to Cifuentes : thither he had detached his aide-de-camp, with an account of his situation, on the appearance of the Spanish army ; and Staremburg immediately assembled his forces. About eleven in the forenoon they began to march towards Brihuega ; but the roads were so bad, that night overtook them before they reached the heights in the neighborhood of that place : Staremburg is said to have loitered away his time unnecessarily from motives of envy to the English general, who had surrendered before his arrival : the troops lay all night on their arms near Villa-viciosa, and on the twenty-ninth were attacked by the enemy, who doubled their number : Staremburg's left wing was utterly defeated, all the infantry that composed it having been either cut in pieces or taken ; but the victors, instead of following the blow, began to plunder the baggage ; and Staremburg with his right wing fought their left with surprising valor and perseverance till night : then they retired in disorder, leaving him master of the field of battle and of all their artillery : 6000 of the enemy were killed on the spot ; but the allies had suffered so severely that the general could not maintain his ground : he ordered the cannon to be nailed up, and marched to Saragossa, from whence he retired to Catalonia : thither he was pursued by the duke de Vendome, who reduced Balaguer, in which he had left a garrison, and compelled him to take shelter under the walls of Barcelona. At this period the duke de Noailles invested Gironne, which he reduced notwithstanding the severity of the weather ; so that Philip, from a fugitive, became in three months absolute master of the whole Spanish monarchy, except the province of Catalonia, and even that lay open to his incursions : nothing of consequence was achieved on the side of Portugal, from whence the earl of Galway returned to England by the queen's permission. The operations of the British fleet during this summer were so inconsiderable as scarcely to deserve notice : Sir John Norris commanded in the Mediterranean ; and, with a view to support the Camisars, who were in arms in the Cevennes, sailed to Port Cette, within a league of Marseilles, and at the distance of fifteen from the insurgents : the place surrendered, without opposition, to

about 700 men that landed under the command of major-general Saissan, a native of Languedoc : he likewise made himself master of the town and castle of Ayde ; but the duke de Noailles advancing with a body of forces to join the duke de Roquelaire, who commanded in those parts, the English abandoned their conquests, and re-embarked with precipitation. After the battle of Pultowa the czar of Muscovy reduced all Livonia ; but he and king Augustus agreed to a neutrality for Pomerania : the king of Sweden continued at Bender, and the grand signor interested himself so much in favor of that prince as to declare war against the emperor of Russia. Hostilities were carried on between the Swedish and Danish fleets with various success : the malcontents in Hungary sustained repeated losses during the summer ; but they were encouraged to maintain the war by the rupture between the Ottoman Porte and Russia : they were flattered with hopes of auxiliaries from the Turks, and expected engineers and money from the French monarch.

17. In England, the effects of those intrigues which had been formed against the whig ministers began to appear : the trial of Sacheverel had excited a popular spirit of aversion to those who favored the dissenters : from all parts of the kingdom addresses were presented to the queen, censuring all resistance as a rebellious doctrine, founded on anti-monarchical and republican principles : at the same time counter-addresses were procured by the whigs, extolling the revolution, and magnifying the conduct of the present parliament. The queen began to express her attachment to the tories by mortifying the duke of Marlborough : on the death of the earl of Essex she wrote to the general, desiring that the regiment which had been commanded by that nobleman should be given to Mr. Hill, brother to Mrs. Masham, who had supplanted the duchess of Marlborough in the queen's friendship, and was in effect the source of this political revolution : the duke represented to her majesty in person the prejudice that would redound to the service from the promotion of such a young officer over the heads of a great many brave men, who had exhibited repeated proofs of valor and capacity : he expostulated with his sovereign on this extraordinary mark of partial regard to the brother of Mrs. Masham, which he could not help considering as a declaration against himself and his family, who had so much cause to complain of that lady's malice and ingratitude : to this remonstrance the queen made no other reply, but that

he would do well to consult his friends: the earl of Godolphin enforced his friend's arguments, though without effect; and the duke retired in disgust to Windsor: the queen appeared at council without taking the least notice of his absence, which did not fail to alarm the whole whig faction: several noblemen ventured to speak to her majesty on the subject, and explain the bad consequences of dis-obliging a man who had done such eminent services to the nation: she told them his services were still fresh in her memory, and that she retained all her former kindness for his person: hearing, however, that a popular clamor was raised, and that the house of commons intended to pass some votes that would be disagreeable to her and her new counsellors, she ordered the earl of Godolphin to write to the duke to dispose of the regiment as he should think proper, and return to town immediately: before he received this intimation, he had sent a letter to the queen, desiring she would permit him to retire from business: in answer to this petition, she assured him his suspicions were groundless, and insisted on his coming to council. The duchess demanded an audience of her majesty, on pretence of vindicating her own character from some aspersions: she hoped to work on the queen's tenderness, and retrieve the influence she had lost: she protested, argued, wept, and supplicated; but the queen was too well pleased with her own deliverance from the tyranny of the other's friendship, to incur such slavery for the future: all the humiliation of the duchess served only to render herself the more contemptible: the queen heard her without exhibiting the least sign of emotion; and all she would vouchsafe, was a repetition of these words: 'You desired no answer, and you shall have none;' alluding to an expression in a letter she had received from the duchess. As an additional mortification to the ministry, the office of lord chamberlain was transferred from the duke of Kent to the duke of Shrewsbury, who had lately voted with the tories, and maintained an intimacy of correspondence with Mr. Harley: the interest of the duke of Marlborough was not even sufficient to prevent the dismissal of his own son-in-law, the earl of Sunderland, from the post of secretary of state, in which he was succeeded by lord Dartmouth.

18. The queen was generally applauded for thus asserting her just prerogative, and setting herself free from an arbitrary cabal, by which she had been so long kept in de-

pendence: the duke of Beaufort went to court on this occasion, and told her majesty he was extremely glad that he could now salute her queen in reality. The whole whig party were justly alarmed at these alterations: the directors of the bank represented to her majesty the prejudice that would undoubtedly accrue to public credit from a change of the ministry: the emperor and the States-General interposed in this domestic revolution: their ministers at London presented memorials, explaining in what manner foreign affairs would be influenced by an alteration in the British ministry: the queen assured them, that, whatever changes might be made, the duke of Marlborough should be continued in his employments. In the month of August the earl of Godolphin was divested of his office, and the treasury put in commission, subjected to the direction of Harley, appointed chancellor of the exchequer and under-treasurer; the earl of Rochester was declared president of the council, in the room of lord Somers; the staff of lord steward being taken from the duke of Devonshire, was given to the duke of Buckingham; and Mr. Boyle was removed from the secretary's office to make way for Mr. Henry St. John: the lord chancellor having resigned the great seal, it was first put in commission, and afterwards given to Sir Simon Harcourt: the earl of Wharton surrendered his commission of lord-lieutenant of Ireland, which the queen conferred on the duke of Ormond: the earl of Orford withdrew himself from the board of admiralty; and Mr. George Granville was appointed secretary of war in the room of Mr. Robert Walpole: the command of the forces in Portugal was bestowed on the earl of Portmore; the duke of Hamilton was appointed lord-lieutenant of the county-palatine of Lancaster: in a word, there was not one whig left in any office of state, except the duke of Marlborough, who would have renounced his command, had he not been earnestly dissuaded by his particular friends from taking such a step as might have been prejudicial to the interest of the nation: that the triumph of the tories might be complete, the queen dissolved the whig parliament, after such precautions were taken as could not fail to influence the new election in favor of the other party.

19. To this end nothing so effectually contributed as did the trial of Sacheverel, who was used as an instrument and tool to wind and turn the passions of the vulgar: having been presented to a benefice in North Wales, he went in

procession to that country, with all the pomp and magnificence of a sovereign prince: he was sumptuously entertained by the university of Oxford, and different noblemen, who, while they worshipped him as the idol of their faction, could not help despising the object of their adoration: he was received in several towns by the magistrates of the corporation in their formalities, and often attended by a body of 1000 horse. At Bridgenorth he was met by Mr. Creswell, at the head of 4000 horse, and the like number of persons on foot, wearing white knots edged with gold, and three leaves of gilt laurel in their hats: the hedges were for two miles dressed with garlands of flowers, and lined with people; and the steeples covered with streamers, flags, and colors: nothing was heard but the cry of 'the church and Dr. Sacheverel.' The clergy were actuated by a spirit of enthusiasm, which seemed to spread like a contagion through all ranks and degrees of people, and had such effect on the elections for a new parliament, that very few were returned as members but such as had distinguished themselves by their zeal against the whig administration. Now the queen had the pleasure to see all the offices of state, the lieutenancy of London, the management of corporations, and the direction of both houses of parliament in the hands of the tories: when these met on the twenty-fifth of November, Mr. Bromley was chosen speaker without opposition. The queen, in her speech, recommended the prosecution of the war with vigor, especially in Spain: she declared herself resolved to support the church of England; to preserve the British constitution according to the union; to maintain the indulgence by law allowed to scrupulous consciences; and to employ none but such as were heartily attached to the protestant succession in the house of Hanover. The lords, in their address, promised to concur in all reasonable measures towards procuring an honorable peace: the commons were more warm and hearty in their assurances, exhorting her majesty to discountenance all such principles and measures as had lately threatened her royal crown and dignity; measures which, whenever they might prevail, would prove fatal to the whole constitution both in church and state: after this declaration they proceeded to consider the estimates, and cheerfully granted the supplies for the ensuing year, part of which was raised by two lotteries. In the house of peers, the earl of Scarborough moved that the thanks of the house should be returned to

the duke of Marlborough; but the duke of Argyle made some objections to the motion; and the general's friends, dreading the consequence of putting the question, postponed the consideration of this proposal until the duke should return from the continent: the earl of Peterborough was appointed ambassador extraordinary to the imperial court; the earl of Rivers was sent in the same quality to Hanover; Mr. Richard Hill was nominated envoy extraordinary to the United Provinces, as well as to the council of state appointed for the government of the Spanish Netherlands, in the room of lieutenant-general Cadogan: Meredith, Macartney, and Honeywood were deprived of their regiments, because in their cups they had drunk confusion to the enemies of the duke of Marlborough.

20. This nobleman arrived in England towards the latter end of December: he conferred about half an hour in private with the queen, and next morning assisted at a committee of the privy-council: her majesty gave him to understand that he needed not to expect the thanks of the parliament as formerly, and told him she hoped he would live well with her ministers: he expressed no resentment at the alterations which had been made; but resolved to acquiesce in the queen's pleasure, and retain the command of the army on her own terms. On the second of January, the queen sent a message to both houses, intimating that there had been an action in Spain to the disadvantage of king Charles; that the damage having fallen particularly on the English forces, she had given directions for sending and procuring troops to repair the loss, and hoped the parliament would approve her conduct. Both houses seized this opportunity of venting their spleen against the old ministry: the history of England is disgraced by the violent conduct of two turbulent factions, which in their turn engrossed the administration and legislative power: the parliamentary strain was quite altered: one can hardly conceive how resolutions so widely different could be taken on the same subject, with any shadow of reason and decorum. Marlborough, who but a few months before had been so highly extolled and caressed by the representatives of the people, was now become the object of parliamentary hatred and censure, though no sensible alteration had happened in his conduct or success: that hero, who had retrieved the glory of the British arms, won so many battles, subdued such a number of towns and districts, humbled the pride and checked the ambition of France, secured the liberty

of Europe, and, as it were, chained victory to his chariot wheels, was in a few weeks dwindled into an object of contempt and derision : he was ridiculed in public libels, and reviled in private conversation : instances were every where repeated of his fraud, avarice, and extortion ; his insolence, cruelty, ambition, and misconduct : even his courage was called in question ; and this consummate general was represented as the lowest of mankind : so unstable is the popularity of every character that fluctuates between two opposite tides of faction.

21. The lords, in their answer to the queen's message, declared, that as the misfortune in Spain might have been occasioned by some preceding mismanagement, they would use their utmost endeavors to discover it, so as to prevent the like for the future : they set on foot an inquiry concerning the affairs of Spain ; and the earl of Peterborough being examined before the committee, imputed all the miscarriages in the course of that war to the earl of Galway and general Stanhope. Notwithstanding the defence of Galway, which was clear and convincing, the house resolved, that the earl of Peterborough had given a faithful and honorable account of the councils of war in Valencia ; that the earl of Galway, lord Tyrawley, and general Stanhope, in advising an offensive war, had been the unhappy occasion of the battle at Almanza, the source of our misfortunes in Spain, and one great cause of the disappointment of the expedition to Toulon, concerted with her majesty : they voted that the prosecution of an offensive war in Spain was approved and directed by the ministers, who were therefore justly blamable, as having contributed to all our misfortunes in Spain, and to the disappointment of the expedition against Toulon : that the earl of Peterborough, during his command in Spain, had performed many great and eminent services ; and, if his opinion had been followed, it might have prevented the misfortunes that ensued : then the duke of Buckingham moved, that the thanks of the house should be given to the earl for his remarkable and eminent services ; and these he actually received from the mouth of the lord keeper Harcourt, who took this opportunity to drop some oblique reflections on the mercenary disposition of the duke of Marlborough. The house, proceeding in the inquiry, passed another vote, importing that the late ministry had been negligent in managing the Spanish war, to the great prejudice of the nation : finding that the Portuguese troops were posted on the right

of the English at the battle of Almanza, they resolved, that the earl of Galway, in yielding this point, had acted contrary to the honor of the imperial crown of Great Britain: these resolutions they included in an address to the queen, who had been present during the debates, which were extremely violent; and to every separate vote was attached a severe protest: these were not the proceedings of candor and national justice, but the ebullitions of party zeal and rancorous animosity.

22. While the lords were employed in this inquiry, the commons examined certain abuses which had crept into the management of the navy; and some censures were passed on certain persons concerned in contracts for victualling the seamen: the inhabitants of St. Olave and other parishes presented a petition, complaining that a great number of palatines, inhabiting one house, might produce among them a contagious distemper; and in time become a charge to the public, as they were destitute of all visible means of subsistence: this petition had been procured by the tories, that the house of commons might have another handle for attacking the late ministry. A committee was appointed to inquire on what invitation or encouragement those palatines had come to England: the papers relating to this affair being laid before them by the queen's order, and perused, the house resolved, that the inviting and bringing over the poor palatines of all religions, at the public expense, was an extravagant and unreasonable charge to the kingdom, and a scandalous misapplication of the public money, tending to the increase and oppression of the poor, and of dangerous consequence to the constitution in church and state; and, that whoever advised their being brought over was an enemy to the queen and kingdom. Animated by the heat of this inquiry, they passed the bill to repeal the act for a general naturalisation of all protestants; but this was rejected in the house of lords: another bill was enacted into a law, importing, that no person should be deemed qualified for representing a county in parliament, unless he possessed an estate of £600 a year, and restricting the qualification of burgess to half that sum: the design of this bill was to exclude trading people from the house of commons, and to lodge the legislative power with the landholders. A third act passed, permitting the importation of French wine in neutral bottoms; a bill, against which the whigs loudly

exclaimed as a national evil, and a scandalous compliment to the enemy.

23. A violent party in the house of commons began to look on Harley as a lukewarm tory, because he would not enter precipitately into all their factious measures: they even began to suspect his principles, when his credit was re-established by a very singular accident. Guiscard, the French partisan, of whom mention has already been made, thought himself very ill rewarded for his services with a precarious pension of £400, which he enjoyed from the queen's bounty: he had been renounced by St. John, the former companion of his pleasures: he had in vain endeavored to obtain an audience of the queen, with a view to demand more considerable appointments: Harley was his enemy, and all access to her majesty was denied. Enraged at these disappointments, he attempted to make his peace with the court of France, and offered his services, in a letter to one Moreau, a banker in Paris: this packet, which he endeavored to transmit by the way of Portugal, was intercepted, and a warrant issued out to apprehend him for high-treason: when the messenger disarmed him in St. James's-park, he exhibited marks of guilty confusion and despair, and begged that he would kill him directly: being conveyed to the cockpit, in a sort of frenzy, he perceived a penknife lying on a table, and took it up without being perceived by the attendants: a committee of council was immediately summoned, and Guiscard brought before them to be examined: finding that his correspondence with Moreau was discovered, he desired to speak in private with secretary St. John, whom in all probability he had resolved to assassinate: his request being refused, he said, 'That's hard: not one word?' St. John being out of his reach, he stepped up to Mr. Harley, and exclaiming, 'Have at thee, then!' stabbed him in the breast with the penknife which he had concealed: the instrument broke on the bone, without penetrating into the cavity: nevertheless, he repeated the blow with such force, that the chancellor of the exchequer fell to the ground. Secretary St. John, seeing him fall, cried out, 'The villain has killed Mr. Harley!' and drew his sword: several other members followed his example, and wounded Guiscard in several places: yet he made a desperate defence, until he was overpowered by the messengers and servants, and conveyed from the council-chamber, which he had filled with terror, tu-

mult, and confusion : his wounds, though dangerous, were not mortal ; but he died of a gangrene occasioned by the bruises he had sustained. This attempt on the life of Harley, by a person who wanted to establish a traitorous correspondence with France, extinguished the suspicions of those who began to doubt that minister's integrity : the two houses of parliament, in an address to the queen, declared their belief, that Mr. Harley's fidelity to her majesty, and zeal for her service, had drawn on him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction :²⁰ they besought her majesty to take all possible care of her sacred person ; and, for that purpose, to give directions for causing papists to be removed from the cities of London and Westminster : a proclamation was published, ordering the laws to be strictly put in execution against papists. When Harley appeared in the house of commons after his recovery, he was congratulated on it by the speaker in a florid, fulsome, premeditated speech : an act was passed, decreeing, that an attempt on the life of a privy-counsellor should be felony without benefit of clergy. The earl of Rochester dying, Harley became sole minister, was created baron of Wigmore, and raised to the rank of earl, by the noble and ancient title of Oxford and Mortimer : to crown his prosperity, he was appointed lord treasurer, and vested with the supreme administration of affairs.

24. The commons empowered certain persons to examine all the grants made by king William, and report the value of them, as well as the considerations on which they were made [1711.] : on their report a bill was formed and passed that house ; but the lords rejected it at the first reading : their next step was to examine the public accounts, with a view to fix an imputation on the earl of Godolphin : they voted, that above £35,000,000 of the money granted by parliament remained unaccounted for : this sum, however, included some accounts in the reigns of king Charles and king William : one half of the whole was charged to Mr. Bridges, the paymaster, who had actually accounted for all the money he had received, except about £3,000,000, though these accounts had not passed through the auditor's office.

²⁰ Burnet. Quincy. Feuquieres. Torcy. Burchet. History of the Duke of Marlborough. Milan's History. Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough. Tindal. Lives of the Admirals. Voltaire.

The commons afterwards proceeded to inquire into the debts of the navy, that exceeded £5,000,000, which, with many other debts, were thrown into one stock, amounting to £9,471,325 : a fund was formed for paying an interest or annuity of six per cent. until the principal should be discharged ; and with this was granted a monopoly of a projected trade in the South-Sea, vested in the proprietors of navy-bills, debentures, and other public securities, which were incorporated for this purpose. Such was the origin of the South-Sea company, founded on a chimerical supposition, that the English would be permitted to trade on the coast of Peru in the West-Indies : perhaps the new ministry hoped to obtain this permission, as an equivalent for their abandoning the interest of king Charles, with respect to his pretensions on Spain. By this time the emperor Joseph had died of the small-pox without male issue ; so that his brother's immediate aim was to succeed him on the imperial throne : this event was, on the twentieth of April, communicated by a message from the queen to both houses : she told them, that the States-General had concurred with her in a resolution to support the house of Austria, and that they had already taken such measures as would secure the election of Charles as head of the empire.

25. The house of commons, in order to demonstrate their attachment to the church, in consequence of an address from the lower house of convocation, and a quickening message from the queen, passed a bill for building fifty new churches in the suburbs of London and Westminster ; and appropriated for this purpose the duty on coals, which had been granted for the building of St. Pauls, now finished : this imposition was continued until it should raise the sum of £350,000. At the close of the session, the commons presented a remonstrance or representation to the queen, in which they told her, that they had not only raised the necessary supplies, but also discharged the heavy debts of which the nation had so long and justly complained : they said, that, in tracing the causes of this debt, they had discovered fraud, embezzlement, and misapplication of the public money ; that they who of late years had the management of the treasury were guilty of a notorious breach of trust and injustice to the nation, in allowing above £30,000,000 to remain unaccounted for ; a purposed omission, that looked like a design to conceal embezzlements : they begged her majesty would give immediate directions for compelling

the several imprest accountants speedily to pass their accounts: they expressed their hope, that such of the accountants as had neglected their duty in prosecuting their accounts, ought no longer to be entrusted with the public money: they affirmed, that from all these evil practices and worse designs of some persons, who had, by false professions of love to their country, insinuated themselves into her royal favor, irreparable mischief would have accrued to the public, had not her majesty, in her great wisdom, seasonably discovered the fatal tendency of such measures, and removed from the administration those who had so ill answered her majesty's favorable opinion, and in so many instances grossly abused the trust reposed in them: they observed, that her people could with greater patience have suffered the manifold injuries done to themselves by the frauds and depredations of such evil ministers, had not the same men proceeded to treat her sacred person with undutifulness and disregard. This representation being circulated through the kingdom, produced the desired effect of inflaming the minds of the people against the late ministry: such expedients were become necessary for the execution of Oxford's project, which was to put a speedy end to a war that had already subjected the people to grievous oppression, and even accumulated heavy burdens to be transmitted to their posterity: the nation was inspired by extravagant ideas of glory and conquest, even to a rage of war-making; so that the new ministers, in order to dispel those dangerous chimeras, were obliged to take measures for exciting their indignation and contempt against those persons whom they had formerly idolised as their heroes and patriots. On the twelfth of June, the queen, having given the royal assent to several public and private bills, made an affectionate speech to both houses: she thanked the commons, in the warmest expressions, for having complied with all her desires; for having baffled the expectations of her enemies in finding supplies for the service of the ensuing year; in having granted greater sums than were ever given to any prince in one session; and in having settled funds for the payment of the public debts, so that the credit of the nation was restored: she expressed her earnest concern for the succession of the house of Hanover; and her fixed resolution to support and encourage the church of England as by law established: then the parliament was prorogued.

26. Of the convocation, which was assembled with the new parliament, the lower house chose Dr. Atterbury their prolocutor: he was an enterprising ecclesiastic, of extensive learning, acute talents, violently attached to tory principles, and intimately connected with the prime minister, Oxford; so that he directed all the proceedings in the lower house of convocation, in concert with that minister. The queen, in a letter to the archbishop, signified her hope that the consultations of the clergy might be of use to repress the attempts of loose and profane persons: she sent a license under the broad seal, empowering them to sit and do business in as ample a manner as ever had been granted since the reformation: they were ordered to lay before the queen an account of the excessive growth of infidelity and heresy, as well as of other abuses, that necessary measures might be taken for a reformation: the bishops were purposely slighted and overlooked, because they had lived in harmony with the late ministers. A committee being appointed to draw up a representation of the present state of the church and religion, Atterbury undertook the task, and composed a remonstrance that contained the most keen and severe strictures on the administration, as it had been exercised since the time of the revolution: another was penned by the bishops in more moderate terms; and several regulations were made, but in none of these did the two houses agree: they concurred however in censuring some tenets favoring Arianism, broached and supported by Mr. Whiston, mathematical professor in Cambridge: he had been expelled the university, and wrote a vindication of himself, dedicated to the convocation. The archbishop doubted whether this assembly could proceed against a man for heresy: the judges were consulted, and the majority of them gave in their opinion that the convocation had a jurisdiction: four of them professed the contrary sentiment, which they maintained from the statutes made at the reformation. The queen, in a letter to the bishops, said, that as there was now no doubt of their jurisdiction, she expected they would proceed in the matter before them: fresh scruples arising, they determined to examine the book, without proceeding against the author, and this was censured accordingly: an extract of the sentence was sent to the queen; but she did not signify her pleasure on this subject, and the affair remained in suspense. Whiston published a work in four volumes, justifying his

doctrine, and maintaining that the Apostolical Constitutions were not only canonical, but also preferable in point of authority to the epistles and the gospels.

27. The new ministry had not yet determined to supersede the duke of Marlborough in the command of the army: this was a step which could not be taken without giving umbrage to the Dutch and other allies: he therefore set out for Holland in the month of February, after the queen had assured him that he might depend on the punctual payment of the forces. Having conferred with the deputies of the States about the operations of the campaign, he, about the middle of April, assembled the army at Orchies, between Lisle and Douay; while marshal de Villars drew together the French troops in the neighborhood of Cambray and Arras. Louis had by this time depopulated as well as empoverished his kingdom; yet his subjects still flocked to his standard with surprising spirit and attachment: under the pressure of extreme misery they uttered not one complaint of their sovereign, but imputed all their calamities to the pride and obstinacy of the allies: exclusive of all the other impositions that were laid on that people, they consented to pay the tenth penny of their whole substance; but all their efforts of loyalty and affection to their prince would have been ineffectual, had not the merchants of the kingdom, by the permission of Philip, undertaken repeated voyages to the South-Sea, from whence they brought home immense treasures; while the allies took no steps for intercepting these supplies, though nothing could have been more easy for the English than to deprive the enemy of this great resource, and convert it to their own advantage: had a squadron of ships been annually employed for this purpose, the subjects of France and Spain must have been literally starved, and Louis obliged to submit to such terms as the confederates might have thought proper to impose. Villars had found means to assemble a very numerous army, with which he encamped behind the river Sanset, in such an advantageous post as could not be attacked with any prospect of success: meanwhile the duke of Marlborough passed the Scarpe, and formed his camp between Douay and Bouchain, where he was joined by prince Eugene on the twenty-third of May: this general, however, did not long remain in the Netherlands: understanding that detachments had been made from the army of Villars to the Rhine, and that the elector of Bavaria intended to act in the empire, the prince, by order from the court of Vienna, marched

towards the Upper Rhine with the imperial and palatine troops, to secure Germany : the duke of Marlborough, re-passing the Scarpe, encamped in the plains of Lens, from whence he advanced towards Aire, as if he had intended to attack the French lines in that quarter : these lines beginning at Bouchain on the Scheldt, were continued along the Sanset and the Scarpe to Arras, and thence along the Upper Scarpe to Canché : they were defended by redoubts and other works in such a manner, that Villars judged they were impregnable, and called them the *ne plus ultra* of Marlborough.

28. This nobleman, advancing within two leagues of the French lines, ordered a great number of fascines to be made, declaring he would attack them the next morning ; so that Villars drew all his forces on that side, in full expectation of an engagement. The duke, on the supposition that the passage of the Sanset by Arleux would be left unguarded, had ordered the generals Cadogan and Hompesch to assemble twenty battalions and seventeen squadrons from Douay and the neighboring garrisons, to march to Arleux, where they should endeavor to pass the Sanset : brigadier Sutton was detached, with the artillery and pontoons, to lay bridges over the canal near Goulezen, and over the Scarpe at Vitry ; while the duke, with the whole confederate army, began his march for the same place about nine in the evening : he proceeded with such expedition, that by five in the morning he passed the river at Vitry : there he received intelligence that Hompesch had taken possession of the passes on the Sanset and Scheldt without opposition, the enemy having withdrawn their detachments from that side, just as he had imagined : he himself, with his vanguard of fifty squadrons, hastened his march towards Arleux, and before eight o'clock arrived at Baca-Bachuel, where in two hours he was joined by the heads of the columns into which he had divided his infantry. Villars, being certified of his intention about two in the morning, decamped with his whole army ; and, putting himself at the head of the king's household troops, marched all night with such expedition, that about eleven in the forenoon he was in sight of the duke of Marlborough, who had by this time joined count Hompesch : the French general immediately retreated to the main body of his army, which had advanced to the high road between Arras and Cambrai ; while the allies encamped on the Scheldt, between Ois and Estrun, after a march of ten leagues without halting, scarce to be paralleled in history. By this plan, so happily

executed, the duke of Marlborough fairly outwitted Villars; and, without the loss of one man, entered the lines which he had pronounced impregnable: this stroke of the English general was extolled as a master-piece of military skill, while Villars was exposed to the ridicule even of his own officers. The field deputies of the States-General proposed that he should give battle to the enemy, who passed the Scheldt at Crevecœur, in order to cover Bouchain; but the duke would not hazard an engagement, considering how much the army was fatigued by the long march; and that any misfortune, while they continued within the French lines, might be fatal: his intention was to besiege Bouchain; an enterprise that was deemed impracticable, inasmuch as the place was situated in a morass, strongly fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison, in the neighborhood of an army superior in number to that of the allies: notwithstanding these disadvantages, and the dissuasions of his own friends, he resolved to undertake the siege; and, in the mean time, despatched brigadier Sutton to England, with an account of his having passed the French lines, which was not at all agreeable to his enemies: they had prognosticated that nothing would be done during this campaign, and began to insinuate that the duke could strike no stroke of importance without the assistance of prince Eugene: they now endeavored to lessen the glory of his success; and even taxed him with having removed his camp from a convenient situation to a place where the troops were in danger of starving. Nothing could be more provoking than this scandalous malevolence to a great man, who had done so much honor to his country, and was then actually exposing his life in her service.

29. On the tenth of August Bouchain was invested, and the duke of Marlborough exerted himself to the utmost extent of his vigilance and capacity, well knowing the difficulties of the undertaking, and how much his reputation would depend on his success. Villars had taken every precaution that his skill and experience could suggest to baffle the endeavors of the English general: he had reinforced the garrison to the number of 6000 chosen men, commanded by officers of known courage and ability: he made some efforts to raise the siege; but they were rendered ineffectual by the consummate prudence and activity of the duke of Marlborough: then he laid a scheme for surprising Douay, which likewise miscarried. If we consider that the English ge-

neral, in the execution of his plan, was obliged to form lines, erect regular forts, raise batteries, throw bridges over a river, make a causeway through a deep morass, provide for the security of convoys against a numerous army on one side and the garrisons of Condé and Valenciennes on the other; we must allow this was the boldest enterprise of the whole war; that it required all the fortitude, skill, and resolution of a great general, and all the valor and intrepidity of the confederate troops, who had scarce ever exhibited such amazing proof of courage on any other occasion as they now displayed at the siege of Bouchain. In twenty days after the trenches were opened, the garrison were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war; and this conquest was the last military exploit performed by the duke of Marlborough: the breaches of Bouchain were no sooner repaired than the opposite armies began to separate, and the allied forces were quartered in the frontier towns, that they might be at hand to take the field early in the spring: they were now in possession of the Maese, almost as far as the Sambre; of the Scheldt from Tournay; and of the Lys as far as it is navigable: they had reduced Spanish Guelderland, Limburg, Brabant, Flanders, and the greatest part of Hainault: they were masters of the Scarpe; and, by the conquest of Bouchain, they had opened to themselves a way into the very bowels of France: all these acquisitions were owing to the valor and conduct of the duke of Marlborough, who now returned to the Hague, and arrived in England about the middle of November.

30. The queen had conferred the command of her forces in Spain on the duke of Argyle, who was recalled from the service in Flanders for that purpose: he had long been at variance with the duke of Marlborough; a circumstance which recommended him the more strongly to the ministry: he landed at Barcelona on the twenty-ninth of May, and found the British troops in the utmost distress for want of subsistence: the treasurer had promised to supply him liberally; the commons had granted £1,500,000 for that service: all their hopes of success were fixed on the campaign in that kingdom; and indeed the army commanded by the duke de Vendome was in such a wretched condition, that if Staremburg had been properly supported by the allies, he might have obtained signal advantages. The duke of Argyle, having waited in vain for the promised remittances, was obliged to borrow money on his own credit, before the British

troops could take the field : at length, Staremburg advanced towards the enemy, who attacked him at the pass of Prato del Rey, where they were repulsed with considerable damage : after this action, the duke of Argyle was seized with a violent fever, and conveyed back to Barcelona : Vendome invested the castle of Cardona, which was vigorously defended till the end of December, when a detachment being sent to the relief of the place, defeated the besiegers, killed 2000 on the spot, and took all their artillery, ammunition, and baggage : Staremburg was unable to follow the blow ; the duke of Argyle wrote pressing letters to the ministry, and loudly complained that he was altogether unsupported ; but all his remonstrances were ineffectual ; no remittances arrived ; and he returned to England without having been able to attempt any thing of importance. In September, king Charles, leaving his queen at Barcelona, set sail for Italy, and at Milan had an interview with the duke of Savoy, where all disputes were compromised : that prince had forced his way into Savoy, and penetrated as far as the Rhine ; but he suddenly halted in the middle of his career, and after a short campaign repassed the mountains. Prince Eugene, at the head of the German forces, protected the electors at Frankfort from the designs of the enemy, and Charles was unanimously chosen emperor, the electors of Cologne and Bavaria having been excluded from voting because they lay under the ban of the empire. The war between the Ottoman Porte and the Muscovites was of short duration : the czar advanced so far into Moldavia, that he was cut off from all supplies, and altogether in the power of his enemy : in this emergency, he found means to corrupt the grand vizir in private, while in public he proposed articles of peace that were accepted : the king of Sweden, who was in the Turkish army, charged the vizir with treachery, and that minister was actually disgraced : the grand signor threatened to renew the war, but he was appeased by the czar's surrendering Asoph.

31. The English ministry had conceived great expectations from an expedition against Quebec and Placentia, in North-America, planned by colonel Nicholson, who had taken possession of Nova-Scotia, and garrisoned Porte-Royal, to which he gave the name of Anapolis : he had brought four Indian chiefs to England, and represented the advantages that would redound to the nation in point of commerce, should the French be expelled from North-America : the ministers relished the proposal : a body of 5000 men was embarked in

timidated, that they disowned Dundas, and Horne his accomplice: they pretended that the affair of the medal had been transacted by a party at an occasional meeting, and not by general consent; and by a solemn act they declared their attachment to the queen and the protestant succession. The court was satisfied with this atonement; but the resident from Hanover having presented a memorial to the queen, desiring that Dundas and his associates might be prosecuted, the government removed Sir David Dalrymple from his office of lord advocate, on pretence of his having been too remiss in prosecuting those delinquents; and no farther inquiry was made into the affair.

33. For some time a negociation for peace had been carried on between the court of France and the new ministers, who had a double aim in this measure; namely to mortify the whigs and the Dutch, whom they detested; and to free their country from a ruinous war, which had all the appearance of becoming habitual to the constitution: they foresaw the risk they would run by entering into such measures should ever the opposite faction regain the ascendancy; they knew the whigs would employ all their art and influence, which was very powerful, in obstructing the peace, and in raising a popular clamor against the treaty: but their motives for treating were such as prompted them to undervalue all those difficulties and dangers: they hoped to obtain such advantages in point of commerce for the subjects of Great Britain, as would silence all detraction: they did not doubt of being able to maintain the superiority which they had acquired in parliament; and perhaps some of them cherished views in favor of the pretender, whose succession to the crown would have effectually established their dominion over the opposite party. The earl of Jersey, who acted in concert with Oxford, sent a private message to the court of France, importing the queen's earnest desire of peace; representing the impossibility of a private negociation, as the ministry was obliged to act with the utmost circumspection; and desiring that Louis would propose to the Dutch a renewal of the conferences, in which case the English plenipotentiaries should have such instructions, that it would be impossible for the States-General to prevent the conclusion of the treaty: this intimation was delivered by one Gualtier, an obscure priest, who acted as chaplain to count Gallas, the imperial ambassador, and had been employed as a spy by the French

ministry since the commencement of hostilities: his connexion with lord Jersey was by means of that nobleman's lady, who professed the Roman catholic religion. His message was extremely agreeable to the court of Versailles: he returned to London, with a letter of compliment from the marquis de Torcy to the earl of Jersey, in which that minister assured him of his master's sincere inclination for peace, though he was averse to a renewal of the conferences with the States-General: Gualtier wrote a letter to Versailles, desiring, in the name of the English ministry, that his most christian majesty would communicate to them his proposals for a general peace, which they would communicate to the States-General, that they might negotiate in concert with their allies: a general answer being made to this intimation, Gualtier made a second journey to Versailles, and brought over a memorial, which was immediately transmitted to Holland: in the mean time, the pensionary endeavored to renew the conferences in Holland: Petkum wrote to the French ministry, that if his majesty would resume the negociation, in concert with the queen of Great Britain, he should certainly have reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Dutch deputies: this proposal Louis declined, at the desire of the English ministers.


34. The States-General, having perused the memorial, assured queen Anne that they were ready to join with her in contributing to the conclusion of a durable peace; but they expressed a desire that the French king would communicate a more particular plan for securing the interest of the allied powers, and for settling the repose of Europe. Gualtier was once more sent to Versailles, accompanied by Mr. Prior, who had resided in France as secretary to the embassies of the earls of Portland and Jersey: this gentleman had acquired some reputation by his poetical talents; was a man of uncommon ability, insinuating address, and perfectly devoted to the tory interest: he was empowered to communicate the preliminary demands of the English; to receive the answer of the French king; and demand whether or not king Philip had transmitted a power of treating to his grandfather: he arrived incognito at Fontainebleau, and presented the queen's memorial, in which she demanded a barrier for the Dutch in the Netherlands, and another on the Rhine for the empire; a security for the Dutch commerce, and a general satisfaction to all her allies: she required that the strong places taken from the duke of

Savoy should be restored, and that he should possess such towns and districts in Italy as had been ceded to him in treaties between him and his allies; that Louis should acknowledge queen Anne and the protestant succession, demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk, and agree to a new treaty of commerce; that Gibraltar and Port Mahon should be yielded to the crown of England; that the negro trade in America, at that time carried on by the French, should be ceded to the English, together with some towns on that continent, where the slaves might be refreshed: she expected security, that her subjects trading to Spain should enjoy all advantages granted by that crown to the most favored nation; that she should be put in possession of Newfoundland and Hudson's-bay, either by way of restitution or cession; and that both nations should continue to enjoy whatever territories they might be possessed of in North-America at the ratification of the treaties: she likewise insisted on a security that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united on the same head. Her majesty no longer insisted on Philip's being expelled from the throne of Spain by the arms of his own grandfather: she now perceived that the exorbitant power of the house of Austria would be as dangerous to the liberty of Europe as ever that of the family of Bourbon had been in the zenith of its glory: she might have remembered the excessive power, the insolence, the ambition of Charles V. and Philip II. who had enslaved so many countries, and embroiled all Europe: she was sincerely desirous of peace, from motives of humanity and compassion to her subjects and fellow-creatures; she was eagerly bent on procuring such advantages to her people, as would enable them to discharge the heavy load of debt under which they labored, and recompense them in some measure for the blood and treasure they had so lavishly expended in the prosecution of the war: these were the sentiments of a Christian princess; of an amiable and pious sovereign, who bore a share in the grievances of her subjects, and looked on them with the eyes of maternal affection: she thought she had the better title to insist on those advantages, as they had been already granted to her subjects in a private treaty with king Charles.

35. As Prior's powers were limited in such a manner that he could not negotiate, Mr. Menager, deputy from the city of Rouen to the board of trade, accompanied the English minister to London with full powers to settle the preli-

mineries of the treaty : on his arrival in London, the queen immediately commissioned the duke of Shrewsbury, the earls of Jersey, Dartmouth, Oxford, and Mr. St. John, to treat with him ; and the conferences were immediately begun : after long and various disputes, they agreed on certain preliminary articles, which, on the eighth of October, were signed by the French minister and by the two secretaries of state, in consequence of a written order from her majesty : then Menager was privately introduced to the queen at Windsor. She told him she was averse to war ; that she would exert all her power to conclude a speedy peace ; that she should be glad to live on good terms with the king of France, to whom she was so nearly allied in blood ; she expressed her hope that there would be a closer union after the peace between them, and between their subjects, cemented by a perfect correspondence and friendship. The earl of Strafford, who had been lately recalled from the Hague, where he resided as ambassador, was now sent back to Holland, with orders to communicate to the pensionary the proposals of peace which France had made ; to signify the queen's approbation of them, and propose a place where the plenipotentiaries should assemble : the English ministers now engaged in an intimate correspondence with the court of Versailles ; and marshal Tallard, being released from his confinement at Nottingham, was allowed to return to his own country on his parole : after the departure of Menager, the preliminaries were communicated to count Gallas, the emperor's minister, who, in order to inflame the minds of the people, caused them to be translated, and inserted in one of the daily papers : this step was so much resented by the queen, that she sent a message, desiring he would come no more to court ; but that he might leave the kingdom as soon as he should think proper : he took the hint, and retired accordingly ; but the queen gave the emperor to understand, that any other minister he should appoint would be admitted by her without hesitation.

36. The states of Holland, alarmed at the preliminaries, sent over Buys, as envoy extraordinary, to intercede with the queen, that she would alter her resolutions ; but she continued steady to her purpose ; and the earl of Strafford demanded the immediate concurrence of the States, declaring, in the queen's name, that she would look on any delay on their part as a refusal to comply with her propositions : intimidated by this declaration, they agreed to open the



general conferences at Utrecht on the first of January: they granted passports to the French ministers; while the queen appointed Robinson, bishop of Bristol, and the earl of Strafford, her plenipotentiaries at the congress. Charles, the new emperor, being at Milan when he received a copy of the preliminaries, wrote circular letters to the electors and the princes of the empire, exhorting them to persist in their engagements to the grand alliance: he likewise desired the States-General to join councils with him in persuading the queen of England to reject the proposals of France, and prosecute the war; or at least to negotiate on the foundation of the first preliminaries, which had been signed by the marquis de Torcy: he wrote a letter to the same purpose to the queen of Great Britain, who received it with the most mortifying indifference. No wonder that he should zealously contend for the continuance of a war, the expense of which she and the Dutch had hitherto almost wholly defrayed. The new preliminaries were severely attacked by the whigs, who ridiculed and reviled the ministry in word and writing: pamphlets, libels, and lampoons were to-day published by one faction, and to-morrow answered by the other: they contained all the insinuations of malice and contempt, all the bitterness of reproach, and all the rancor of recrimination. In the midst of this contention the queen despatched the earl of Rivers to Hanover, with an assurance to the elector, that his succession to the crown should be effectually ascertained in the treaty: the earl brought back an answer in writing; but, at the same time, his electoral highness ordered baron de Bothmar, his envoy in England, to present a memorial to the queen, representing the pernicious consequences of Philip's remaining in possession of Spain and the West-Indies: this remonstrance the baron published, by way of appeal to the people; and the whigs extolled it with the highest encomiums: but the queen and her ministers resented this step, as an officious and inflammatory interposition.

37. The proposals of peace made by the French king were disagreeable even to some individuals of the tory party; and certain peers, who had hitherto adhered to that interest, agreed with the whigs, to make a remonstrance against the preliminary articles: the court, being apprised of their intention, prorogued the parliament till the seventh of December, in expectation of the Scottish peers, who would cast the balance in favor of the ministry. In her speech at the

opening of the session, she told them, that, notwithstanding the arts of those who delighted in war, the place and time were appointed for a congress, and that the States-General had expressed their intire confidence in her conduct: she declared her chief concern should be to secure the succession of the crown in the house of Hanover; to procure all the advantages to the nation which a tender and affectionate sovereign could procure for a dutiful and loyal people; and to obtain satisfaction for all her allies: she observed, that the most effectual way to procure an advantageous peace would be to make preparations for carrying on the war with vigor: she recommended unanimity, and prayed God would direct their consultations. In the house of lords, the earl of Nottingham, who had now associated himself with the whigs, inveighed against the preliminaries as captious and insufficient, and offered a clause to be inserted in the address of thanks, representing to her majesty, that in the opinion of the house, no peace could be safe or honorable to Great Britain or Europe, if Spain and the West-Indies should be allotted to any branch of the house of Bourbon. A violent debate ensued, in the course of which the earl of Anglesea represented the necessity of easing the nation of the burdens incurred by an expensive war: he affirmed that a good peace might have been procured immediately after the battle of Ramillies, if it had not been prevented by some persons who prolonged the war for their own private interest: this insinuation was levelled at the duke of Marlborough, who made a long speech in his own vindication: he bowed to the place where the queen sat incognito; and appealed to her, whether, while he had the honor to serve her majesty as general and plenipotentiary, he had not constantly informed her and her council of all the proposals of peace which had been made, and had not desired instructions for his conduct on that subject: he declared, on his conscience, and in presence of the Supreme Being, before whom he expected soon to appear, that he was ever desirous of a safe, honorable, and lasting peace; and that he was always very far from entertaining any design of prolonging the war for his own private advantage, as his enemies had most falsely insinuated: at last, the question being put, whether the earl of Nottingham's advice should be part of the address; it was carried in the affirmative by a small majority: the address was accordingly presented, and the queen in her answer said she should be very sorry any one could think she would not do

her utmost to recover Spain and the West-Indies from the house of Bourbon : against this advice however several peers protested, because there was no precedent for inserting a clause of advice in an address of thanks ; and because they looked on it as an invasion of the royal prerogative : in the address of the commons there was no such article, and therefore the answer they had received was warm and cordial.

38. The duke of Hamilton claiming a seat in the house of peers as duke of Brandon, a title he had lately received, was opposed by the anti-courtiers, who pretended to foresee great danger to the constitution from admitting into the house a greater number of Scottish peers than the act of union allowed. Council was heard on the validity of his patent : they observed that no objection could be made to the queen's prerogative in conferring honors, and that all the subjects of the united kingdom were equally capable of receiving honor : the house of lords had already decided the matter, in admitting the duke of Queensbury on his being created duke of Dover. The debate was managed with great ability on both sides : the Scottish peers united in defence of the duke's claim ; and the court exerted its whole strength to support the patent : nevertheless, the question being put, whether Scottish peers, created peers of Great Britain since the union, had a right to sit in that house ; it was carried in the negative by a majority of five voices, though not without a protest signed by the lords in the opposition : the Scottish peers were so incensed at this decision, that they drew up a representation to the queen, complaining of it as an infringement of the union, and a mark of disgrace put on the whole peerage of Scotland. The bill against occasional conformity was revived by the earl of Nottingham in more moderate terms than those that had been formerly rejected ; and it passed both houses by the connivance of the whigs, on the earl's promise, that if they would consent to this measure, he would bring over many friends to join them in matters of greater consequence. On the twenty-second of December, the queen, being indisposed, granted a commission to the lord keeper and some other peers to give the royal assent to this bill, and another for the land-tax : the duke of Devonshire obtained leave to bring in a bill for giving precedence of all peers to the electoral prince of Hanover, as the duke of Cambridge : an address was presented to the queen, desiring

she would give instructions to her plenipotentiaries, to consult with the ministers of the allies in Holland before the opening of the congress; that they might concert the necessary measures for proceeding with unanimity, the better to obtain the great ends proposed by her majesty.

39. The commissioners for examining the public accounts having discovered that the duke of Marlborough had received an annual present of £5000 or £6000 from the contractors of bread to the army, the queen declared in council that she thought fit to dismiss him from all his employments, that the matter might be impartially examined: this declaration was imparted to him in a letter under her own hand, in which she took occasion to complain of the treatment she had received: she probably alluded to the insolence of his duchess; the subjection in which she had been kept by the late ministry; and the pains lately taken by the whigs to depreciate her conduct, and thwart her measures with respect to the peace. The duke wrote an answer to her majesty, vindicating himself from the charge which had been brought against his character; and his two daughters, the countess of Sunderland and the lady Railton, resigned their places of ladies in the bed-chamber. The ministry, in order to ascertain a majority in the house of lords, persuaded the queen to take a measure which nothing but necessity could justify: she created twelve peers at once, and on the second of January they were introduced into the upper house without opposition.¹ The lord keeper delivered to the house a message

¹ Lord Compton and lord Bruce, sons of the earls of Northampton and Aylesbury, were called up by writ to the house of peers: the other ten were these: lord Duplin, of the kingdom of Scotland, created baron Hay of Bedwardin, in the county of Hereford; lord viscount Windsor, of Ireland, made baron Mountjoy, in the isle of Wight; Henry Paget, son of lord Paget, created baron Burton, in the county of Stafford; Sir Thomas Mansel, baron Mansel, of Margam, in the county of Glamorgan; Sir Thomas Willoughby, baron Middleton, of Middleton, in the county of Warwick; Sir Thomas Trevor, baron Trevor, of Bromham, in the county of Bedford; George Granville, baron Lansdown, of Biddeford, in the county of Devon; Samuel Masham, baron Masham, of Oats, in the county of Essex; Thomas Foley, baron Foley, of Kidderminster, in the county of Worcester; and Allen Bathurst, baron Bathurst, of Bathelsden, in the county of Bedford. On the first day of their being introduced, when the question was put about adjourning, the earl of Wharton asked one of them, whether they voted by their foreman.

from the queen, desiring they would adjourn to the fourteenth of the month: the anti-courtiers alleged, that the queen could not send a message to any one house to adjourn, but ought to have directed it to both houses: this objection produced a debate, which was terminated in favor of the court by the weight of the twelve new peers.

40. At this period prince Eugene arrived in England, with a letter to the queen from the emperor, and instructions to propose a new scheme for prosecuting the war: his errand was far from being agreeable to the ministry; and they suspected that his real aim was to manage intrigues among the discontented party, who opposed the peace: nevertheless, he was treated with that respect which was due to his quality and eminent talents: the ministers, the nobility, and officers of distinction visited him at his arrival: he was admitted to an audience of the queen, who received him with great complacency: having perused the letter which he delivered, she expressed her concern that her health did not permit her to speak with his highness as often as she could wish; but that she had ordered the treasurer and secretary St. John to receive his proposals, and confer with him as frequently as he should think proper. He expressed extraordinary respect for the duke of Marlborough, notwithstanding his disgrace: the lord treasurer, while he entertained him at dinner, declared that he looked on that day as the happiest in the whole course of his life, since he had the honor to see in his house the greatest captain of the age: the prince is said to have replied, 'If I am, it is owing to your lordship;' alluding to the disgrace of Marlborough, whom the earl's intrigues had deprived of all military command. When bishop Burnet conversed with him about the scandalous libels that were every day published against the duke, and in particular mentioned one paragraph, in which the author allowed he had been once fortunate, the prince observed it was the greatest commendation that could be bestowed on him, as it implied that all his other successes were owing to his courage and conduct: while the nobility of both parties vied with each other in demonstrations of respect for this noble stranger; while he was adored by the whigs, and admired by the people, who gazed at him in crowds when he appeared in public; even in the midst of all these caresses, party riots were excited to insult his person, and some

scandalous reflections on his mother were inserted in one of the public papers. The queen treated him with distinguished marks of regard, and on her birthday presented him with a sword worth £5000: nevertheless, she looked on him as a patron and friend of that turbulent faction to which she owed so much disquiet: she knew he had been pressed to come over by the whig noblemen, who hoped his presence would inflame the people to some desperate attempt on the new ministry: she was not ignorant that he held private conferences with the duke of Marlborough, the earl of Sunderland, the lords Somers, Halifax, and all the chiefs of that party; and that he entered into a close connexion with the baron de Bothmar, the Hanoverian envoy, who had been very active in fomenting the disturbances of the people.

41. Her majesty, who had been for some time afflicted with the gout, sent a message to both houses on the seventeenth of January, signifying that the plenipotentiaries were arrived at Utrecht, and that she was employed in making preparations for an early campaign; she hoped therefore that the commons would proceed in giving the necessary despatch to the supplies. The lord treasurer, in order to demonstrate his attachment to the protestant succession, brought in a bill which had been proposed by the duke of Devonshire, giving precedence to the whole electoral family, as children and nephews of the crown; and, when it was passed into an act, he sent it over to Hanover by Mr. Thomas Harley: the sixteen peers for Scotland were prevailed on, by promise of satisfaction, to resume their seats in the upper house, from which they had absented themselves since the decision against the patent of the duke of Hamilton: but whatever pecuniary recompense they might have obtained from the court, on which they were meanly dependent, they received no satisfaction from the parliament. The commons, finding Mr. Walpole very troublesome in their house by his talents, activity, and zealous attachment to the whig interest, found means to discover some clandestine practices in which he was concerned as secretary at war, with regard to the forage-contract in Scotland: the contractors, rather than admit into their partnership a person whom he had recommended for that purpose, chose to present his friend with £500: their bill was addressed to Mr. Walpole, who endorsed it, and his friend touched the

money.³ This transaction was interpreted into a bribe: Mr. Walpole was voted guilty of corruption, imprisoned in the Tower, and expelled the house: being afterwards re-chosen by the same borough of Lynn-Regis, which he had before represented, a petition was lodged against him; and the commons voted him incapable of being elected a member to serve in the present parliament.

42. Their next attack was on the duke of Marlborough, who was found to have received a yearly sum from Sir Solomon Medina, a Jew, concerned in the contract for furnishing the army with bread; to have been gratified by the queen with £10,000 a year to defray the expense of intelligence; and to have pocketed a deduction of two and a half per cent. from the pay of the foreign troops maintained by England. It was alleged, in his justification, that the present from the Jews was a customary perquisite, which had always been enjoyed by the general of the Dutch army; that the deduction of two and a half per cent. was granted to him by an express warrant from her majesty; that all the articles of the charge joined together did not exceed £30,000, a sum much inferior to that which had been allowed to king William for contingences; that the money was expended in procuring intelligence, which was so exact that the duke was never surprised; that none of his parties were ever

³ The commissioners appointed for taking, stating, and examining the public accounts, having made their report touching the conduct of Mr. Walpole, the house, after a long debate, came to the following resolutions:—1. that Robert Walpole, Esq. a member of this house, in receiving the sum of 500 guineas, and in taking a note for 500 more, on account of two contracts for forage of her majesty's troops, quartered in North Britain, made by him when secretary at war, pursuant to a power granted to him by the late lord treasurer, is guilty of a high breach of trust and notorious corruption: 2. that the said Robert Walpole, Esq. be for the said offence committed prisoner to the Tower of London, during the pleasure of this house; and that Mr. Speaker do issue his warrant accordingly: 3. that the said Robert Walpole, Esq. be for the said offence also expelled the house, and that the report of the commissioners of public accounts be taken into farther consideration that day se'nnight. It appeared from the depositions of witnesses that the public had been defrauded considerably by these contracts: a very severe speech was made in the house, and next day published, reflecting on Mr. Walpole, as guilty of the worst kind of corruption; and Sir Peter King declared in the house, that he deserved hanging as well as he deserved imprisonment and expulsion.

intercepted or cut off; and all the designs were by these means so well concerted, that he never once miscarried. Notwithstanding these representations, the majority voted that his practices had been unwarrantable and illegal, and that the deduction was to be accounted for as public money: these resolutions were communicated to the queen, who ordered the attorney-general to prosecute the duke for the money he had deducted by virtue of her own warrant: such practices were certainly mean and mercenary, and greatly tarnished the glory which the duke had acquired by his military talents, and other shining qualities.

43. The commons now directed the stream of their resentment against the Dutch, who had certainly exerted all their endeavors to overwhelm the new ministry, and retard the negotiations for peace: they maintained an intimate correspondence with the whigs of England: they diffused the most invidious reports against Oxford and secretary St. John: Buys, their envoy at London, acted the part of an incendiary, in suggesting violent measures to the malcontents, and caballing against the government. The ministers, by way of reprisal, influenced the house of commons to pass some acrimonious resolutions against the States-General: they alleged that the States had been deficient in their proportion of troops, both in Spain and in the Netherlands, during the whole course of the war; and that the queen had paid above 3,000,000 of crowns in subsidies, above what she was obliged to advance by her engagements: they attacked the barrier-treaty, which had been concluded with the States by lord Townshend, after the conferences at Gertruydenburg: by this agreement, England guaranteed a barrier in the Netherlands to the Dutch; and the States bound themselves to maintain, with their whole force, the queen's title and the protestant succession. The Tories affirmed that England was disgraced by engaging any other state to defend a succession which the nation might see cause to alter; that, by this treaty, the States were authorised to interpose in British councils; that, being possessed of all those strong towns, they might exclude the English from trading to them, and interfere with the manufactures of Great Britain. The house of commons voted, that in the barrier-treaty there were several articles destructive to the trade and interest of Great Britain, and therefore highly dishonorable to her majesty; that the lord viscount Townshend was not authorised to conclude several articles in that treaty; that he

and all those who had advised its being ratified were enemies to the queen and the kingdom: all their votes were digested into a long representation presented to the queen, in which they averred that England during the war had been overcharged £19,000,000; a circumstance that implied mismanagement or fraud in the old ministry. The States, alarmed at these resolutions, wrote a respectful letter to the queen, representing the necessity of a barrier for the mutual security of England and the United Provinces: they afterwards drew up a large memorial in vindication of their proceedings during the war, and it was published in one of the English papers: the commons immediately voted it a false, scandalous, and malicious libel, reflecting on the resolutions of the house; and the printer and publisher were taken into custody, as guilty of a breach of privilege.

44. They now repealed the naturalisation act: they passed a bill granting a toleration to the episcopal clergy in Scotland, without paying the least regard to a representation from the general assembly to the queen, declaring that the act for securing the presbyterian government was an essential and fundamental condition of the treaty of union.³ The house, notwithstanding this remonstrance, proceeded with the bill, and inserted a clause prohibiting civil magistrates from executing the sentences of the kirk-judicatories: the episcopal, as well as the presbyterian clergy, were required to take the oaths of abjuration, that they might be on an equal footing in case of disobedience; for the commons well knew that this condition would be rejected by both from very different motives. In order to exasperate the presbyterians with farther provocations, another act was passed for discontinuing the courts of judicature during the Christmas holydays, which had never been kept by persons of that persuasion: when this bill was read for the third time, Sir David Dalrymple said, 'since the house is resolved to make no toleration on the body of this bill, I acquiesce; and only desire it may be entitled, a bill for establishing Jacobitism and immorality.' The chagrin of the Scottish presbyterians was completed by a third bill, restoring the right of patronage, which had been taken away when the discipline of the kirk was last established. Prince Eugene having presented

³ Burnet. Boyer. Lamberty. Quincy. Rousset. Torcy. Tindal. History of the Duke of Marlborough. Milan's History. Voltaire.

a memorial to the queen, touching the conduct of the emperor during the war, and containing a proposal with relation to the affairs of Spain, the queen communicated the scheme to the house of commons, who treated it with the most contemptuous neglect: the prince, finding all his efforts ineffectual, retired to the continent, as much displeased with the ministry as he had reason to be satisfied with the people of England. The commons, having settled the funds for the supplies of the year, amounting to £6,000,000, the treasurer formed the plan of a bill appointing commissioners to examine the value and consideration of all the grants made since the revolution: his design was to make a general resumption; but as the interest of so many noblemen was concerned, the bill met with a very warm opposition; notwithstanding which it would have certainly passed, had not the duke of Buckingham and the earl of Strafford absented themselves from the house during the debate.

CHAP. XI.

ANNE (CONTINUED.)—1712.

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1. IN the month of January the conferences for peace began at Utrecht: the earl of Jersey would have been appointed the plenipotentiary for England; but he dying after the correspondence with the court of France was established, the queen conferred that charge on Robinson, bishop of Bristol, lord privy-seal, and the earl of Strafford: the chief of the Dutch deputies named for the congress were Buys and Vanderdussen; the French king granted his powers to marshal D'Uxelles, the abbot (afterwards cardinal) de Polignac, and Menager, who had been in England: the ministers of the emperor and Savoy likewise assisted at the conferences, to which the empire and the other allies likewise sent their plenipotentiaries, though not without reluctance: as all these powers, except France, entertained sentiments very different from those of her Britannic majesty, the conferences seemed calculated rather to retard than accelerate a pacification. The queen of England had foreseen and provided against these difficulties: her great end was to free her subjects from the miseries attending an unprofitable war, and to restore peace to Europe; and this aim she was resolved to accomplish in spite of all opposition: she had also determined to procure reasonable terms of accommodation for her allies, without, however, continuing to lavish the blood and treasure of her people in supporting their extravagant demands. The emperor obstinately insisted on his claim to the whole Spanish monarchy, refusing to give up the least tittle of his pretensions; and the Dutch adhered to the old preliminaries which Louis had formerly rejected: the queen saw that the liberties of Europe would be exposed to much greater danger from an actual union of the imperial and Spanish crowns in one head of the house of Austria, than from a bare possibility of Spain's being united with France in one branch of the house of Bourbon: she knew by experience the difficulty of dethroning Philip, rooted as he was in the affections of a brave and loyal people; and that a prosecution of this design would serve no purpose but to protract the war, and augment the grievances of the British nation: she was well acquainted with the distresses of the French,

which she considered as pledges of their monarch's sincerity: she sought not the total ruin of that people, already reduced to the brink of despair: the dictates of true policy dissuaded her from contributing to farther conquest in that kingdom, which would have proved the source of contention among the allies, depressed the house of Bourbon below the standard of importance which the balance of Europe required it should maintain, and aggrandise the States-General at the expense of Great Britain. As she had borne the chief burden of the war, she had a right to take the lead, and dictate a plan of pacification; at least, she had a right to consult the welfare of her own kingdom, in delivering, by a separate peace, her subjects from those enormous loads which they could no longer sustain; and she was well enough aware of her own consequence, to think she could not obtain advantageous conditions.

2. Such were the sentiments of the queen; and her ministers seem to have acted on the same principles, though perhaps party motives may have helped to influence their conduct. The allies concurred in opposing with all their might any treaty which could not gratify their different views of avarice, interest, and ambition: they practised a thousand little artifices to intimidate the queen, to excite a jealousy of Louis, to blacken the characters of her ministers, to raise and keep up a dangerous ferment among her people, by which her life and government were endangered: she could not fail to resent these efforts, which greatly perplexed her measures, and obstructed her design: her ministers were sensible of the dangerous predicament in which they stood: the queen's health was much impaired, and the successor countenanced the opposite faction: in case of their sovereign's death, they had nothing to expect but prosecution and ruin for obeying her commands; they saw no hope of safety, except in renouncing their principles, and submitting to their adversaries, or else in taking such measures as would hasten the pacification, that the troubles of the kingdom might be appeased, and the people be satisfied with their conduct, before death should deprive them of their sovereign's protection: with this view they advised her to set on foot a private negotiation with Louis to stipulate certain advantages for her own subjects in a concerted plan of peace; to enter into such mutual confidence with that monarch, as would anticipate all clandestine transactions to her prejudice, and in some measure enable her to prescribe terms for her allies.

The plan was judiciously formed, but executed with too much precipitation: the stipulated advantages were not such as she had a right to demand and insist on; and without all doubt, better might have been obtained, had not the obstinacy of the allies abroad, and the violent conduct of the whig faction at home, obliged the ministers to relax in some material points, and hasten the conclusion of the treaty.

3. The articles being privately regulated between the two courts of London and Versailles, the English plenipotentiaries at Utrecht were furnished with general powers and instructions, being ignorant of the agreement which the queen had made with the French monarch touching the kingdom of Spain, which was indeed the basis of the treaty: this secret plan of negotiation however had well nigh been destroyed by some unforeseen events that were doubly afflicting to Louis: the dauphin had died of the small-pox in the course of the preceding year, and his title had been conferred on his son, the duke of Burgundy, who now expired on the last of February, six days after the death of his wife, Mary Adelaide of Savoy: the parents were soon followed to the grave by their eldest offspring, the duke of Bretagne, in the sixth year of his age; so that of the duke of Burgundy's children, none remained alive but the duke of Anjou, the late French king, who was at that time a sickly infant. Such a series of calamities could not fail of being extremely shocking to Louis in his old age; but they were still more alarming to the queen of England, who saw that nothing but the precarious life of an unhealthy child divided the two monarchies of France and Spain, the union of which she resolved by all possible means to prevent: she therefore sent the abbé Gualtier to Paris, with a memorial, representing the danger to which the liberty of Europe would be exposed should Philip ascend the throne of France; and demanding that his title should be transferred to his brother, the duke of Berry, in consequence of his pure, simple, and voluntary renunciation.

4. Meanwhile the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht were prevailed on to deliver their proposals in writing, under the name of specific offers, which the allies received with indignation: they were treated in England with universal scorn: lord Halifax, in the house of peers, termed them trifling, arrogant, and injurious to her majesty and her allies. An address was presented to the queen, in which they expressed their resentment against the insolence of France, and promised to assist her with all their power in pro-

securing the war until a safe and honorable peace should be obtained: the plenipotentiaries of the allies were not less extravagant in their specific demands than the French had been arrogant in their offers: in a word, the ministers seemed to have been assembled at Utrecht, rather to start new difficulties, and widen the breach, than to heal animosities, and concert a plan of pacification: they amused one another with fruitless conferences, while the queen of Great Britain endeavored to engage the States-General in her measures, that they might treat with France on moderate terms, and give law to the rest of the allies: she departed from some of her own pretensions, in order to gratify them with the possession of some towns in Flanders: she consented to their being admitted into a participation of some advantages in commerce; and ordered the English ministers at the congress to tell them, that she would take her measures according to the return they should make on this occasion: finding them still obstinately attached to their first chimerical preliminaries, she gave them to understand, that all her offers for adjusting the differences were founded on the express condition, that they should come into her measures, and co-operate with her openly and sincerely; but they had made such bad returns to all her condescension towards them, that she looked on herself as released from all engagements: the ministers of the allies had insisted on a written answer to their specific demands; and this the French plenipotentiaries declined, until they should receive fresh instructions from their master. Such was the pretence for suspending the conferences; but the real bar to a final agreement between England and France was the delay of Philip's renunciation, which at length, however, arrived, and produced a cessation of arms.

5. In the mean time, the duke of Ormond, who was now invested with the supreme command of the British forces, received a particular order that he should not hazard an engagement. Louis had already undertaken for the compliance of his grandson: reflecting on his own great age, he was shocked at the prospect of leaving his kingdom involved in a pernicious war during a minority, and determined to procure a peace at all events: the queen, knowing his motives, could not help believing his protestations, and resolved to avoid a battle, the issue of which might have considerably altered the situation of affairs, and consequently retarded the conclusion of the treaty. Preparations

had been made for an early campaign: in the beginning of March, the earl of Albemarle, having assembled a body of thirty-six battalions, marched towards Arras, which he reduced to a heap of ashes by a most terrible cannonading and bombardment: in May, the duke of Ormond conferred with the deputies of the States-General at the Hague, and assured them that he had orders to act vigorously in the prosecution of the war: he joined prince Eugene at Tournay; and, on the twenty-sixth of May, the allied army, passing the Scheldt, encamped at Haspre and Solemnes: the imperial general proposed that they should attack the French army under Villars; but by this time the duke was restrained from hazarding a siege or battle; a circumstance well known to the French commander, who therefore abated of his usual vigilance: it could not be long concealed from prince Eugene and the deputies, who forthwith despatched an express to their principals on this subject, and afterwards presented a long memorial to the duke, representing the injury which the grand alliance would sustain from his obedience of such an order. He seemed to be extremely uneasy at his situation; and, in a letter to secretary St. John, expressed a desire that the queen would permit him to return to England.

6. Prince Eugene, notwithstanding the queen's order, which Ormond had not yet formally declared, invested the town of Quesnoy, and the duke furnished towards this enterprise seven battalions and nine squadrons of the foreign troops maintained by Great Britain: the Dutch deputies at Utrecht expostulating with the bishop of Bristol on the duke's refusing to act against the enemy, that prelate told them that he had lately received an express, with a letter from her majesty, in which she complained, that as the States-General had not properly answered her advances, they ought not to be surprised, if she thought herself at liberty to enter into separate measures in order to obtain a peace for her own convenience: when they remonstrated against such conduct, as contradictory to all the alliances subsisting between the queen and the States-General, the bishop declared his instructions farther imported, that, considering the conduct of the States towards her majesty, she thought herself disengaged from all alliances and engagements with their high-mightinesses. The States and the ministers of the allies were instantly in commotion: private measures were concerted with the elector of Hanover, the

landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and some other princes of the empire, concerning the troops belonging to those powers in the pay of Great Britain: the States-General wrote a long letter to the queen, and ordered their envoy at London to deliver it into her own hand: count Zinzerdorf, the emperor's plenipotentiary, despatched expresses to his master, to prince Eugene, and to the imperial ambassador at London: the queen held a council at Kensington on the subject of the letter; and a fresh order was sent to the duke of Ormond, directing him to concur with the general of the allies in a siege.

7. On the twenty-eighth of May, lord Halifax, in the house of peers, descanted on the ill consequences of the duke's refusing to co-operate with prince Eugene, and moved for an address, desiring her majesty would order the general to act offensively, in concert with her allies: the treasurer observed it was prudent to avoid a battle on the eve of a peace, especially considering they had to do with an enemy so apt to break his word: the earl of Wharton replied, this was a strong reason for keeping no measures with such an enemy. When Oxford declared, that the duke of Ormond had received orders to join the allies in a siege, the duke of Marlborough affirmed it was impossible to carry on a siege without either hazarding a battle, in case the enemy should attempt to relieve the place, or shamefully abandoning the enterprise. The duke of Argyle, having declared his opinion, that since the time of Julius Cæsar there had not been a greater captain than prince Eugene of Savoy, observed, that considering the different interests of the house of Austria and of Great Britain, it might not consist with prudence to trust him with the management of the war, because a battle won or lost might intirely break off a negociation of peace, which in all probability was near being concluded: he added, that two years before, the confederates might have taken Arras and Cambray, instead of amusing themselves with the insignificant conquests of Aire, Bethune, and St. Venant. The duke of Devonshire said he was, by proximity of blood, more concerned than any other in the reputation of the duke of Ormond; and therefore could not help expressing his surprise, that any one would dare to make a nobleman of the first rank, and of so distinguished a character, the instrument of such proceedings: earl Paulet answered, that nobody could doubt the duke of Ormond's courage;

but he was not like a certain general, who led troops to the slaughter, to cause a great number of officers to be knocked on the head, that he might fill his pockets by disposing of their commissions. The duke of Marlborough was so deeply affected by this reflection, that though he suppressed his resentment in the house, he took the first opportunity to send lord Mohun to the earl with a message, importing that he should be glad to come to an explanation with his lordship about some expressions he had used in that day's debate; and desiring his company to take the air in the country: the earl understood his meaning; but could not conceal his emotion from the observation of his lady, by whose means the affair was communicated to the earl of Dartmouth, secretary of state: two sentinels were immediately placed at his lordship's gate; the queen, by the channel of lord Dartmouth, desired the duke of Marlborough would proceed no farther in the quarrel; and he assured her he would punctually obey her majesty's commands. The earl of Oxford assured the house, that a separate peace was never intended; that such a peace would be so base, so knavish, and so villanous, that every one who served the queen knew they must answer it with their heads to the nation; but that it would appear to be a safe and glorious peace, much more to the honor and interest of the nation than the first preliminaries insisted on by the allies. The question being put for adjourning, was, after a long debate, carried in the affirmative; but twenty lords entered a protest. The earl of Strafford, who had returned from Holland, proposed that they should examine the negotiations of the Hague and Gertruydenburg, before they considered that of Utrecht: he observed, that in the former negotiations the French ministers had conferred only with the pensionary; who communicated no more of it to the ministers of the allies than what was judged proper to let them know; so that the Dutch were absolute masters of the secret: he asserted that the States-General had consented to give Naples and Sicily to king Philip; a circumstance which proved that the recovery of the whole Spanish monarchy was looked on as impracticable: he concluded with a motion for an address to her majesty, desiring that the papers relating to the negotiations of the Hague and Gertruydenburg should be laid before the house: this was carried without a division.

8. In the house of commons Mr. Pulteney moved for an

address, acquainting her majesty that her faithful commons were justly alarmed at the intelligence received from abroad, that her general in Flanders had declined acting offensively against France in concurrence with her allies; and beseeching her majesty, that he might receive speedy instructions to prosecute the war with the utmost vigor: this motion was rejected by a great majority. A certain member having insinuated that the present negotiation had been carried on in a clandestine and treacherous manner, Mr. secretary St. John said he hoped it would not be accounted treachery to act for the good and advantage of Great Britain; that he gloried in the small share he had in the transaction; and whatever censure he might undergo for it, the bare satisfaction of acting in that view would be a sufficient recompense and comfort to him during the whole course of his life. The house resolved, that the commons had an intire confidence in her majesty's promise, to communicate to her parliament the terms of the peace before it should be concluded; and that they would support her against all such persons, either at home or abroad, as should endeavor to obstruct the pacification: the queen thanked them heartily for this resolution, as being dutiful to her, honest to their country, and very seasonable at a time when so many artifices were used to obstruct a good peace, or to force one disadvantageous to Britain: they likewise presented an address, desiring they might have an account of the negotiations and transactions at the Hague and Gertruydenburg, and know who were then employed as her majesty's plenipotentiaries.

9. The ministry, foreseeing that Philip would not willingly resign his hopes of succeeding to the crown of France, proposed an alternative; that, in case of his preferring his expectation of the crown of France to the present possession of Spain, this kingdom, with the Indies, should be forthwith ceded to the duke of Savoy; that Philip, in the mean time, should possess the duke's hereditary dominions, and the kingdom of Sicily, together with Montserrat and Mantua; all which territories should be annexed to France at Philip's succession to that crown, except Sicily, which should revert to the house of Austria. Louis seemed to relish this expedient, which however was rejected by Philip, who chose to make the renunciation rather than quit the throne on which he was established: the queen demanded, that the renunciation should be ratified in the most solemn manner

by the states of France; but she afterwards waved this demand, in consideration of its being registered in the different parliaments: such forms are but slender securities against the power, ambition, and interest of princes: the marquis de Torcy frankly owned that Philip's renunciation was of itself void, as being contrary to the fundamental laws and constitution of the French monarchy; but it was found necessary for the satisfaction of the English people. Every material article being now adjusted between the two courts, particularly those relating to the king of Spain, the commerce of Great Britain, and the delivery of Dunkirk, a suspension of arms prevailed in the Netherlands, and the duke of Ormond acted in concert with marshal de Villars.

10. On the sixth of June, the queen, going to the house of peers, communicated the plan of peace to her parliament, according to the promise she had made: after having premised that the making peace and war was the undoubted prerogative of the crown, and hinted at the difficulties which had arisen both from the nature of the affair, and numberless obstructions contrived by the enemies of peace, she proceeded to enumerate the chief articles to which both crowns had agreed, without, however, concluding the treaty: she told them she had secured the protestant succession, which France had acknowledged in the strongest terms, and that the pretender would be removed from the French dominions; that the duke of Anjou should renounce for himself and his descendants all claim to the crown of France, so that the two monarchies would be for ever divided: she observed, that the nature of this proposal was such as would execute itself; that it would be the interest of Spain to support the renunciation; and in France, the persons entitled to the succession of that crown on the death of the dauphin were powerful enough to vindicate their own right: she gave them to understand that a treaty of commerce between England and France had been begun, though not yet adjusted; but provision was made, that England should enjoy the same privileges that France granted to the most favored nation; that the French king had agreed to make an absolute cession of the island of St. Christopher, which had hitherto been divided between the two nations; that he had also consented to restore the whole bay and straits of Hudson; to deliver the island of Newfoundland, with Placentia; to cede Annapolis, with the rest of Acadia or Nova-Scotia; to demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk; to leave

England in possession of Gibraltar, Port Mahon, and the whole island of Minorca; to let the trade of Spain in the West-Indies be settled as it was in the reign of his late catholic majesty: she signified that she had obtained for her subjects the *assiento*, or contract, for furnishing the Spanish West-Indies with negroes, for the term of thirty years, in the same manner as it had been enjoyed by the French: with respect to the allies, she declared that France offered to make the Rhine the barrier of the empire; to yield Brisac, Fort Kehl, and Landau, and rase all the fortresses both on the other side of the Rhine, and in the islands of that river; that the protestant interest in Germany would be resettled on the footing of the treaty of Westphalia; that the Spanish Netherlands, the kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia, the duchy of Milan, and the places belonging to Spain on the coast of Tuscany, might be yielded to his imperial majesty, but the disposition of Sicily was not yet determined; that the demands of the States-General with relation to commerce, and the barrier in the Low Countries, would be granted, with a few exceptions, which might be compensated by other expedients; that no great progress had yet been made on the pretensions of Portugal, but that those of Prussia would be admitted by France without much difficulty; that the difference between the barrier demanded by the duke of Savoy in the year 1709, and that which France now offered, was very inconsiderable; that the elector palatine should maintain his present rank among the electors; and that France would acknowledge the electoral dignity in the house of Hanover. Such were the conditions which the queen hoped would make some amends to her subjects for the great and unequal burden they had borne during the whole course of the war: she concluded with saying, she made no doubt but they were fully persuaded, that nothing would be neglected on her part, in the progress of this negociation, to bring the peace to a happy and speedy issue; and she expressed her dependence on the intire confidence and cheerful concurrence of her parliament.

11. An address of thanks and approbation was immediately voted, drawn up, and presented to the queen by the commons in a body. When the house of lords took the speech into consideration, the duke of Marlborough asserted that the measures pursued for the year past were directly contrary to her majesty's engagements with the allies; that they sullied the triumphs and glories of her reign, and would

render the English name odious to all nations. The earl of Strafford said that some of the allies would not have shown such backwardness to a peace, had they not been persuaded and encouraged to carry on the war by a member of that illustrious assembly, who maintained a secret correspondence with them, and fed them with hopes that they would be supported by a strong party in England. In answer to this insinuation against Marlborough, lord Cowper observed, that it could never be suggested as a crime in the meanest subject, much less in any member of that august assembly, to hold correspondence with the allies of the nation; such allies, especially, whose interest her majesty had declared to be inseparable from her own in her speech at the opening of the session; whereas it would be a hard matter to justify and reconcile either with our laws, or with the laws of honor and justice, the conduct of some persons, in treating clandestinely with the common enemy, without the participation of the allies. This was a frivolous argument: a correspondence with any persons whatsoever becomes criminal, when it tends to foment the divisions of one's country, and arm the people against their sovereign: if England had it not in her power, without infringing the laws of justice and honor, to withdraw herself from a confederacy which she could no longer support, and treat for peace on her own bottom, then was she not an associate, but a slave to the alliance. The earl of Godolphin affirmed; that the trade to Spain was such a trifle as deserved no consideration; and that it would continually diminish, until it should be intirely engrossed by the French merchants. Notwithstanding these remonstrances against the plan of peace, the majority agreed to an address, in which they thanked the queen for her extraordinary condescension in communicating those conditions to her parliament; and expressed an intire satisfaction with her conduct. A motion was made for a clause in the address, desiring her majesty would take such measures, in concert with her allies, as might induce them to join with her in a mutual guarantee: a debate ensued, the question was put, and the clause rejected: several noblemen entered a protest, which was expunged from the journals of the house by the decision of the majority.

12. In the house of commons a complaint was exhibited against bishop Fleetwood, who, in a preface to four sermons which he had published, took occasion to extol the last ministry at the expense of the present administration: this

piece was voted malicious and factious, tending to create discord and sedition among her majesty's subjects, and condemned to be burned by the hands of the common hangman: they presented an address to the queen, assuring her of the just sense they had of the indignity offered to her, by printing and publishing a letter from the States-General to her majesty; and desiring she would so far resent such insults as to give no answer for the future to any letters or memorials that should be thus ushered into the world as inflammatory appeals to the public. Mr. Hambden moved for an address to her majesty, that she would give particular instructions to her plenipotentiaries, that in the conclusion of the treaty of peace, the several powers in alliance with her majesty might be guarantees for the protestant succession in the illustrious house of Hanover: the question being put, was carried in the negative: then the house resolved, that they had such confidence in the repeated declarations her majesty had made of her concern for assuring to these kingdoms the protestant succession as by law established, that they could never doubt of her taking the proper measures for the security thereof; that the house would support her against faction at home and her enemies abroad; and did humbly beseech her, that she would be pleased to discountenance all those who should endeavor to raise jealousies between her majesty and her subjects, especially by misrepresenting her good intentions for the welfare of her people. The queen was extremely pleased with this resolution: when it was presented, she told them that they had shown themselves honest assertors of the monarchy, zealous defenders of the constitution, and real friends to the protestant succession: she thought she had very little reason to countenance a compliment of supererogation to a prince who had caballed with the enemies of her administration. On the twenty-first of June the queen closed the session with a speech, expressing her satisfaction at the addresses and supplies she had received: she observed, that should the treaty be broken off, their burdens would be at least continued, if not increased; that Britain would lose the present opportunity of improving her own commerce, and establishing a real balance of power in Europe; and that though some of the allies might be gainers by a continuance of the war, the rest would suffer in the common calamity. Notwithstanding the ferment of the people, which was now risen to a very dangerous pitch, addresses, approving the queen's

conduct, were presented by the city of London, and all the corporations in the kingdom that espoused the tory interest: at this juncture the nation was so wholly possessed by the spirit of party, that no appearance of neutrality or moderation remained.

13. During these transactions the trenches were opened before Quesnoy, and the siege carried on with uncommon vigor under cover of the forces commanded by the duke of Ormond: this nobleman, however, having received a copy of the articles signed by the marquis de Torcy, and fresh instructions from the queen; signified to prince Eugene and the Dutch deputies, that the French king had agreed to several articles demanded by the queen, as the foundation of an armistice, and among others to put the English troops in immediate possession of Dunkirk; that he could therefore no longer cover the siege of Quesnoy, as he was obliged by his instructions to march with the British troops, and those in the queen's pay, and declare a suspension of arms as soon as he should be possessed of Dunkirk: he expressed his hope, that they would readily acquiesce in these instructions, seeing their concurrence would act as the most powerful motive to induce the queen to take all possible care of their interests at the congress; and he endeavored to demonstrate, that Dunkirk, as a cautionary town, was a place of greater consequence to the allies than Quesnoy: the deputies desired he would delay his march five days, that they might have time to consult their principals; and he granted three days without hesitation: prince Eugene observed, that his marching off with the British troops, and the foreigners in the queen's pay, would leave the allies at the mercy of the enemy; but he hoped these last would not obey the duke's order: he and the deputies had already tampered with their commanding officers, who absolutely refused to obey the duke of Ormond, alleging that they could not separate from the confederacy without express directions from their masters, to whom they had despatched couriers. An extraordinary assembly of the States was immediately summoned to meet at the Hague: the ministers of the allies were invited to the conferences: at length, the princes whose troops were in the pay of Britain assured them, that they would maintain them under the command of prince Eugene for one month at their own expense, and afterwards sustain half the charge, provided the other half should be defrayed by the emperor and States-General.

14. The bishop of Bristol imparted to the other plenipotentiaries at Utrecht the concessions which France would make to the allies : and proposed a suspension of arms for two months, that they might treat in a friendly manner, and adjust the demands of all the confederates : to this proposal they made no other answer, but that they had no instructions on the subject : count Zinzendorf, the first imperial plenipotentiary, presented a memorial to the States-General, explaining the danger that would result to the common cause from a cessation of arms, and exhorting them to persevere in their generous and vigorous resolutions : he proposed a renewal of the alliance for recovering the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, and a certain plan for prosecuting the war with redoubled ardor. Prince Eugene, in order to dazzle the confederates with some bold enterprise, detached major-general Grovestein, with 1500 cavalry, to penetrate into the heart of France : this officer, about the middle of June, advanced into Champagne, passed the Noire, the Maese, the Moselle, and the Saar, and retired to Traerbach with a rich booty, and a great number of hostages, after having extorted contributions as far as the gates of Metz, ravaged the country, and reduced a great number of villages and towns to ashes : the consternation produced by this irruption reached the city of Paris : the king of France did not think himself safe at Versailles with his ordinary guards : all the troops in the neighborhood of the capital were assembled about the palace. Villars sent a detachment after Grovestein as soon as he understood his destination ; but the other had gained a day's march of the French troops, which had the mortification to follow him so close, that they found the flames still burning in the villages he had destroyed : by way of retaliation, major-general Pasteur, a French partisan, made an excursion beyond Bergen-op-Zoom, and ravaged the island of Tortola belonging to Zealand.

15. The earl of Strafford, having returned to Holland, proposed a cessation of arms to the States-General, by whom it was rejected : then he proceeded to the army of the duke of Ormond, where he arrived in a few days after the reduction of Quesnoy, the garrison of which were made prisoners of war on the fourth of July : the officers of the foreign troops had a second time refused to obey a written order of the duke ; and such a spirit of animosity began to prevail between the English and allies, that it was absolutely necessary to effect a speedy separation : prince Eugene

resolved to undertake the siege of Landrecy: a design is said to have been formed by the German generals to confine the duke, on pretence of the arrears that were due to them; and to disarm the British troops, lest they should join the French army: in the mean time a literary correspondence was maintained between the English general and marshal de Villars. France having consented to deliver up Dunkirk, a body of troops was transported from England under the command of brigadier Hill, who took possession of the place on the seventh of July; the French garrison retired to Winoxburg: on the sixteenth of the same month prince Eugene marched from his camp at Haspre, and was followed by all the auxiliaries in the British pay, except a few battalions of the troops of Holstein-Gottorp, and Walef's regiment of dragoons, belonging to the state of Liege.

16. Landrecy was immediately invested; while the duke of Ormond, with the English forces, removed from Chateau Cambresis, and encamping at Avesne-le-Secq, proclaimed by sound of trumpet a cessation of arms for two months: on the same day the like armistice was declared in the French army. The Dutch were so exasperated at the secession of the English troops, that the governors would not allow the earl of Strafford to enter Bouchain, nor the British army to pass through Douay, though in that town they had left a great quantity of stores, together with their general hospital: prince Eugene and the Dutch deputies, understanding that the duke of Ormond had begun his march towards Ghent, began to be in pain for that city, and sent count Nassau Woodenburg to him with a written apology, condemning and disavowing the conduct and commandants of Bouchain and Douay; but notwithstanding these excuses, the English troops afterwards met with the same treatment at Tournay, Oudenard, and Lisle; insults which were resented by the whole British nation: the duke however pursued his march, and took possession of Ghent and Bruges for the queen of England: then he reinforced the garrison of Dunkirk, which he likewise supplied with artillery and ammunition. His conduct was no less agreeable to his sovereign than mortifying to the Dutch, who never dreamed of leaving Ghent and Bruges in the hands of the English, and were now fairly outwitted and anticipated by the motions and expedition of the British general.

17. The loss of the British forces was soon severely felt

in the allied army : Villars attacked a separate body of their troops, encamped at Denain, under the command of the earl of Albemarle : their intrenchments were forced, and seventeen battalions either killed or taken ; the earl himself and all the surviving officers were made prisoners : 500 waggons loaded with bread, twelve pieces of brass cannon, a large quantity of ammunition and provisions, a great number of horses, and considerable booty fell into the hands of the enemy : this advantage they gained in sight of prince Eugene, who advanced on the other side of the Scheldt to sustain Albemarle ; but the bridge over that river was broken down by accident ; so that he was prevented from lending the least assistance. Villars immediately invested Marchiennes, where the principal stores of the allies were lodged : the place was surrendered on the last of July ; and the garrison, consisting of 5000 men, were conducted prisoners to Valenciennes : he afterwards undertook the siege of Douay ; an enterprise, in consequence of which prince Eugene abandoned his design on Landrecy, and marched towards the French, in order to hazard an engagement : the States, however, would not run the risk ; and the prince had the mortification to see Douay reduced by the enemy : he could not even prevent their retaking Quesnoy and Bouchain, of which places they were in possession before the tenth of October. The allies enjoyed no other compensation for their great losses, but the conquest of Fort Knocque, which was surprised by one of their partisans.

18. The British ministers at the congress continued to press the Dutch and other allies to join in the armistice ; but they were deaf to the proposal, and concerted measures for a vigorous prosecution of the war : then the earl of Strafford insisted on their admitting to the congress the plenipotentiaries of king Philip ; but he found them equally averse to this expedient. In the beginning of August, secretary St. John, now created lord viscount Bolingbroke, was sent to the court of Versailles incognito, to remove all obstructions to the treaty between England and France : he was accompanied by Mr. Prior and the abbé Gualtier, treated with the most distinguished marks of respect, caressed by the French king and the marquis de Torcy, with whom he adjusted the principal interests of the duke of Savoy and the elector of Bavaria : he settled the time and manner of the renunciation, and agreed to a suspension of arms by sea and

land for four months between the crown of France and England: this was accordingly proclaimed at Paris and London: the negotiation being finished in a few days, Bolingbroke returned to England, and Prior remained as resident at the court of France. The States-General breathed nothing but war: the pensionary Heinsius pronounced an oration in their assembly, representing the impossibility of concluding a peace without losing the fruits of all the blood and treasure they had expended. The conferences at Utrecht were interrupted by a quarrel between the domestics of Menager, and those of the count de Rechteren, one of the Dutch plenipotentiaries: the populace insulted the earl of Strafford and the marquis del Borgo, minister of Savoy, whose master was reported to have agreed to the armistice: these obstructions being removed, the conferences were renewed, and the British plenipotentiaries exerted all their rhetoric, both in public and private, to engage the allies in the queen's measures: at length the duke of Savoy was prevailed on to acquiesce in the offers of France. Mr. Thomas Harley had been sent ambassador to Hanover, with a view to persuade the elector that it would be for his interest to co-operate with her majesty; but that prince's resolution was already taken: 'whenever it shall please God,' said he, 'to call me to the throne of Britain, I hope to act as becomes me for the advantage of my people; in the mean time, speak to me as to a German prince, and a prince of the empire.' Nor was she more successful in her endeavors to bring over the king of Prussia to her sentiments. In the mean time, lord Lexington was appointed ambassador to Madrid, where king Philip solemnly swore to observe the renunciation, which was approved and confirmed by the cortes: the like renunciation to the crown of Spain was afterwards made by the princes of France; and Philip was declared incapable of succeeding to the crown of that realm. The court of Portugal held out against the remonstrances of England, until the marquis de Bay invaded that kingdom at the head of 20,000 men, and undertook the siege of Campo-Major, and they found they had no longer any hope of being assisted by her Britannic majesty: the Portuguese minister at Utrecht signed the suspension of arms on the seventh of November, and excused this step to the allies, as the pure effect of necessity: the English troops in Spain were ordered to separate from the army of count Staremberg, and march to the neighborhood of Barcelona, where they were embarked

on board an English squadron, commanded by sir John Jennings, and transported to Minorca.

19. The campaign being at an end in the Netherlands, the duke of Ormond returned to England, where the party disputes were become more violent than ever: the whigs affected to celebrate the anniversary of the late king's birthday in London with extraordinary rejoicings: mobs were hired by both factions, and the whole city was filled with riot and uproar: a ridiculous scheme was contrived to frighten the lord treasurer with some squibs in a bandbox, which the ministers magnified into a conspiracy. The duke of Hamilton having been appointed ambassador extraordinary to the court of France, the whigs were alarmed on the supposition that this nobleman favored the pretender: some dispute arising between the duke and lord Mohun on the subject of a law-suit, furnished a pretence for a quarrel: Mohun, who had been twice tried for murder, and was counted a mean tool, as well as the Hector of the whig party, sent a message by general Macartney to the duke, challenging him to single combat: the principals met by appointment in Hyde-park, attended by Macartney and colonel Hamilton: they fought with such fury, that Mohun was killed on the spot, and the duke expired before he could be conveyed to his own house: Macartney disappeared and escaped in disguise to the continent: Colonel Hamilton declared on oath before the privy-council, that when the principals engaged, he and Macartney followed their example; that Macartney was immediately disarmed; but the colonel, seeing the duke fall on his antagonist, threw away the swords, and ran to lift him up; that while he was employed in raising the duke, Macartney, having taken up one of the swords, stabbed his grace over Hamilton's shoulder, and retired immediately. A proclamation was issued, promising a reward of £500 to those who should apprehend or discover Macartney, and the duchess of Hamilton offered £300 for the same purpose. The tories exclaimed against this event as a party-duel; they treated Macartney as a cowardly assassin; and affirmed that the whigs had posted others of the same stamp all round Hyde-park, to murder the duke of Hamilton, in case he had triumphed over his antagonist, and escaped the treachery of Macartney: the whigs on the other hand affirmed that it was altogether a private quarrel; that Macartney was intirely innocent of the perfidy laid to his charge; that he afterwards submitted to a fair trial, at

which colonel Hamilton prevaricated in giving his evidence, and was contradicted by the testimony of divers persons who saw the combat at a distance. The duke of Marlborough, hearing himself accused as the author of those party mischiefs, and seeing his enemies grow every day more and more implacable, thought proper to retire to the continent, where he was followed by his duchess: his friend Godolphin had died in September, with the general character of an able, cool, dispassionate minister, who had rendered himself necessary to four successive sovereigns, and managed the finances with equal skill and integrity: the duke of Shrewsbury was nominated ambassador to France, in the room of the duke of Hamilton; the duke d'Aumont arrived at London in the same quality from the court of Versailles; and about the same time the queen granted an audience to the marquis de Monteleone, whom Philip had appointed one of his plenipotentiaries at the congress.

20. In vain had the British ministers in Holland endeavored to overcome the obstinacy of the States-General by alternate threats, promises, and arguments: in vain did they represent that the confederacy against France could be no longer supported with any prospect of success; that the queen's aim had been to procure reasonable terms for her allies; but that their opposition to her measures prevented her from obtaining such conditions as she would have a right to demand in their favor, were they unanimous in their consultations: in November, the earl of Strafford presented a new plan of peace, in which the queen promised to insist on France's ceding to the States the city of Tournay, and some other places, which they could not expect to possess should she conclude a separate treaty. They now began to waver in their councils: the first transports of their resentment having subsided, they plainly perceived that the continuation of the war would entail on them a burden which they could not bear, especially since the duke of Savoy and the king of Portugal had deserted the alliance: besides, they were staggered by the affair of the new barrier, so much more advantageous than that which France had proposed in the beginning of the conferences: they were influenced by another motive; namely, the apprehension of new mischiefs to the empire from the king of Sweden, whose affairs seemed to take a favorable turn at the Ottoman Porte, through the intercession of the French monarch: the czar and king Augustus had penetrated into Pomerania; the king of Denmark had

taken Staden, reduced Bremen, and laid Hamburg under contribution; but count Steenbock, the Swedish general, defeated the Danish army in Mecklenburg, ravaged Holstein with great barbarity, and reduced the town of Altena to ashes: the grand signor threatened to declare war against the czar, on pretence that he had not performed some essential articles of the late peace; but his real motive was an inclination to support the king of Sweden: this disposition, however, was defeated by a powerful party at the Porte, who were averse to war. Charles, who still remained at Bender, was desired to return to his own kingdom, and given to understand that the sultan would procure him a safe passage: he treated the person who brought this intimation with the most outrageous insolence, rejected the proposal, fortified his house, and resolved to defend himself to the last extremity: being attacked by a considerable body of Turkish forces, he and his attendants fought with the most frantic valor: they slew some hundreds of the assailants, but at last the Turks set fire to the house; so that he was obliged to surrender himself and his followers, who were generally sold for slaves: he himself was conveyed under a strong guard to Adrianople. Meanwhile the czar landed with an army in Finland, which he totally reduced: Steenbock maintained himself in Tonningen until all his supplies were cut off, and then he was obliged to deliver himself and his troops prisoners of war: but this reverse was not foreseen when the Dutch dreaded a rupture between the Porte and the Muscovites, and were given to understand that the Turks would revive the troubles in Hungary: in that case, they knew the emperor would recall great part of his troops from the Netherlands, where the burden of the war must lie on their shoulders. After various consultations in their different assemblies, they came into the queen's measures, and signed the barrier-treaty.

21. Then the plenipotentiaries of the four associated circles presented a remonstrance to the British ministers at Utrecht, imploring the queen's interposition in their favor, that they might not be left in the miserable condition to which they had been reduced by former treaties: they were given to understand, that if they should not obtain what they desired, they themselves would be justly blamed as the authors of their own disappointment; that they had been deficient in furnishing their proportion of troops and other necessities; and let the whole burden of the war fall on

the queen and the States in the Netherlands; that when a cessation was judged necessary, they had deserted her majesty to follow the chimerical projects of prince Eugene; that while she prosecuted the war with the utmost vigor, they had acted with coldness and indifference; but when she inclined to peace, they began to exert themselves in prosecuting hostilities with uncommon eagerness; that, nevertheless, she would not abandon their interests, but endeavor to procure for them as good conditions as their preposterous conduct would allow her to demand. Even the emperor's plenipotentiaries began to talk in more moderate terms: Zinzendorf declared that his master was very well disposed to promote a general peace, and no longer insisted on a cession of the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria: Philip's minister, together with those of Bavaria and Cologne, were admitted to the congress; and now the plenipotentiaries of Britain acted as mediators for the rest of the allies.

22. The pacification between France and England was retarded, however, by some unforeseen difficulties that arose in adjusting the commerce and the limits of the countries possessed by both nations in North-America: a long dispute ensued, and the duke of Shrewsbury and Prior held many conferences with the French ministry: at length it was compromised, though not much to the advantage of Great Britain, and the English plenipotentiaries received an order to sign a separate treaty: they declared to the ministers of the other powers that they and some other plenipotentiaries were ready to sign their respective treaties on the eleventh of April: count Zinzendorf endeavored to postpone this transaction until he should be furnished with fresh instructions from Vienna; and even threatened that if the States should sign the peace contrary to his desire, the emperor would immediately withdraw his troops from the Netherlands. The ministers of Great Britain agreed with those of France, that his imperial majesty should have time to consider whether he would or would not accept the proposals; but this time was extended no farther than the first of June; nor would they agree to a cessation of arms during that interval:⁴ meanwhile the peace with France was signed in different treaties

⁴ Burnet. Boyer. Hare. Lamberty. Quincy. Rousset. Torcy. Bolingbroke. Voltaire. Tindal. Milan's History. History of the Duke of Marlborough.

by the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, Savoy, Prussia, Portugal, and the States-General: on the fourteenth of the month the British plenipotentiaries delivered to count Zinzendorf, in writing, 'offers and demands of the French king for making peace with the house of Austria and the empire.' The count and the ministers of the German princes exclaimed against the insolence of France, which had not even bestowed the title of emperor on Joseph; but wanted to impose terms on them, with relation to the electors of Cologne and Bavaria.

23. The treaties of peace and commerce between England and France being ratified by the queen of England, the parliament was assembled on the ninth of April, 1713. The queen told them the treaty was signed, and that in a few days the ratifications would be exchanged: she said, what she had done for the protestant succession, and the perfect friendship subsisting between her and the house of Hanover, would convince those who wished well to both, and desired the quiet and safety of their country, how vain all attempts were to divide them: she left it intirely to the house of commons to determine what force might be necessary for the security of trade by sea, and for guards and garrisons: 'Make yourselves safe,' said she, 'and I shall be satisfied: next to the protection of the Divine Providence, I depend on the loyalty and affection of my people: I want no other guarantee.' She recommended to their protection those brave men who had exposed their lives in the service of their country, and could not be employed in time of peace: she desired they would concert proper measures for easing the foreign trade of the kingdom, for improving and encouraging manufactures and the fishery, and for employing the hands of idle people: she expressed her displeasure at the scandalous and seditious libels which had been lately published: she exhorted them to consider of new laws to prevent this licentiousness, as well as for putting a stop to the impious practice of duelling: she conjured them to use their utmost endeavors to calm the minds of men at home, that the arts of peace might be cultivated; and that groundless jealousies, contrived by a faction, and fomented by party rage, might not effect that which their foreign enemies could not accomplish. This was the language of a pious, candid, and benevolent sovereign, who loved her subjects with a truly parental affection: the parliament considered her in that light: each house presented her with a warm address of

thanks and congratulation, expressing in particular their inviolable attachment to the protestant succession in the illustrious house of Hanover. The ratifications of the treaty being exchanged, the peace was proclaimed on the fifth of May with the usual ceremonies, to the inexpressible joy of the nation in general. It was about this period that the chevalier de St. George conveyed a printed remonstrance to the ministers at Utrecht, solemnly protesting against all that might be stipulated to his prejudice: the commons, in a second address, had besought her majesty to communicate to the house in due time the treaties of peace and commerce with France; and now they were produced by Mr. Benson, chancellor of the exchequer.

24. By the treaty of peace the French king obliged himself to abandon the pretender, and acknowledge the queen's title and the protestant succession; to rase the fortifications of Dunkirk within a limited time, on condition of receiving an equivalent; to cede Newfoundland, Hudson's-Bay, and St. Christopher to England; but the French were left in possession of Cape Breton, and at liberty to dry their fish in Newfoundland. By the treaty of commerce a free trade was established, according to the tariff of the year 1664, except in some commodities that were subjected to new regulations in the year 1699: it was agreed, that no other duties should be imposed on the productions of France imported into England, than those that were laid on the same commodities from other countries; and that commissaries should meet at London, to adjust all matters relating to commerce; as for the tariff with Spain, it was not yet finished: it was stipulated, that the emperor should possess the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands; that the duke of Savoy should enjoy Sicily, with the title of king; that the same title, with the island of Sardinia, should be allotted to the elector of Bavaria, as an indemnification for his losses; that the States-General should restore Lisle and its dependencies; that Namur, Charleroy, Luxembourg, Ypres, and Newport should be added to the other places they already possessed in Flanders; and, that the king of Prussia should have Upper Gueldres, in lieu of Orange and the other states belonging to that family in Franche Comté: the king of Portugal was satisfied; and the first of June was fixed as the period of time granted to the emperor for consideration.

25. A day being appointed by the commons to deliberate

on the treaty of commerce, very just and weighty objections were made to the eighth and ninth articles, importing that Great Britain and France should mutually enjoy all the privileges in trading with each other that either granted to the most favored nation; and that no higher customs should be exacted from the commodities of France than those that were drawn from the same productions of any other people. The balance of trade having long inclined to the side of France, severe duties had been laid on the productions and manufactures of that kingdom, so as almost to amount to a total prohibition: some members observed, that by the treaty between England and Portugal, the duties charged on the wines of that country were lower than those laid on the wines of France; that should they now be reduced to an equality, the difference of freight was so great, that the French wines would be found much cheaper than those of Portugal; and, as they were more agreeable to the taste of the nation in general, there would be no market for the Portuguese wines in England; that should this be the case, the English would lose their trade with Portugal, the most advantageous of any traffic which they now carried on; for it consumed a great quantity of their manufactures, and returned a yearly sum of £600,000 in gold. Mr. Nathanael Gould, formerly governor of the Bank, affirmed, that as France had, since the revolution, encouraged woollen manufactures, and prepared at home several commodities which formerly they drew from England; so the English had learned to make silk stuffs, paper, and all manner of toys, formerly imported from France; by which means an infinite number of artificers were employed, and a vast sum annually saved to the nation; but these people would now be reduced to beggary, and that money lost again to the kingdom, should French commodities of the same kind be imported under ordinary duties, because labor was much cheaper in France than in England; consequently the British manufactures would be undersold and ruined: he urged, that the ruin of the silk manufacture would be attended with another disadvantage: great quantities of woollen cloths were vended in Italy and Turkey, in consequence of the raw silk which the English merchants bought up in those countries; and, should the silk manufacture at home be lost, those markets for British commodities would fail of course: others alleged, that if the articles of commerce had been settled before the English troops separated from those of the con-


federates, the French king would not have presumed to insist on such terms, but have been glad to comply with more moderate conditions. Sir William Wyndham reflected on the late ministry for having neglected to make an advantageous peace when it was in their power: he said that Portugal would always have occasion for the woollen manufactures and the corn of England, and be obliged to buy them at all events: after a violent debate, the house resolved, by a great majority, that a bill should be brought in to make good the eighth and ninth articles of the treaty of commerce with France: against these articles, however, the Portuguese minister presented a memorial, declaring that should the duties on French wines be lowered to the same level with those that were laid on the wines of Portugal, his master would renew the prohibition of the woollen manufactures and other products of Great Britain: indeed, all the trading part of the nation exclaimed against the treaty of commerce, which seems to have been concluded in a hurry, before the ministers fully understood the nature of the subject: this precipitation was owing to the fears that their endeavors after peace would miscarry, from the intrigues of the whig faction, and the obstinate opposition of the confederates.

26. The commons having granted an aid of two shillings in the pound, proceeded to renew the duty on malt for another year, and extended this tax to the whole island, notwithstanding the warm remonstrances of the Scottish members, who represented it as a burden which their country could not bear: they insisted on an express article of the union, stipulating that no duty should be laid on the malt in Scotland during the war, which they affirmed was not yet finished, inasmuch as the peace with Spain had not been proclaimed. During the adjournment of the parliament, on account of the Whitsun-holydays, the Scots of both houses, laying aside all party distinctions, met and deliberated on this subject: they deputed the duke of Argyle, the earl of Mar, Mr. Lockhart, and Mr. Cockburn to lay their grievances before the queen: they represented, that their countrymen bore with impatience the violation of some articles of the union; and that the imposition of such an insupportable burden as the malt-tax would, in all probability, prompt them to declare the union dissolved. The queen, alarmed at this remonstrance, answered, that she wished they might not have cause to repent of such a precipitate resolution; but she would endeavor to make all things easy: on the first of

June, the earl of Findlater, in the house of peers, represented that the Scottish nation was aggrieved in many instances; that they were deprived of a privy-council, and subjected to the English laws in cases of treason; that their nobles were rendered incapable of being created British peers; and that now they were oppressed with the insupportable burden of a malt-tax, when they had reason to expect they should reap the benefit of peace: he therefore moved that leave might be given to bring in a bill for dissolving the union, and securing the protestant succession to the house of Hanover. Lord North and Grey affirmed that the complaints of the Scots were groundless; that the dissolution of the union was impracticable; and he made some sarcastic reflections on the poverty of that nation: he was answered by the earl of Eglinton, who admitted the Scots were poor, and therefore unable to pay the malt-tax. The earl of Ilay, among other pertinent remarks on the union, observed, that when the treaty was made, the Scots took it for granted that the parliament of Great Britain would never load them with any imposition that they had reason to believe grievous. The earl of Peterborough compared the union to a marriage: he said, that though England, who must be supposed the husband, might in some instances prove unkind to the lady, she ought not immediately to sue for a divorce, the rather because she had very much mended her fortune by the match: Ilay replied, that marriage was an ordinance of God, and the union no more than a political expedient: the other affirmed, that the contract could not have been more solemn, unless, like the ten commandments, it had come from Heaven: he inveighed against the Scots, as a people that would never be satisfied; that would have all the advantages resulting from the union, but would pay nothing by their good will, although they had received more money from England than the amount of all their estates. To these animadversions the duke of Argyle made a very warm reply:—‘I have been reflected on by some people,’ said he, ‘as if I was disgusted, and had changed sides; but I despise their persons as much as I undervalue their judgment.’ He urged, that the malt-tax in Scotland was like taxing land by the acre throughout England, because land was worth five pounds an acre in the neighborhood of London, and would not fetch so many shillings in the remote counties: in like manner, the English malt was valued at four times the price of that which was made in Scotland; therefore the tax in

this country must be levied by a regiment of dragoons: he owned he had a great share in making the union, with a view to secure the protestant succession; but he was now satisfied this end might be answered as effectually if the union was dissolved; and if this step should not be taken, he did not expect long to have either property left in Scotland, or liberty in England. All the whig members voted for the dissolution of that treaty which they had so eagerly promoted, while the tories strenuously supported the measure against which they had once argued with such vehemence. In the course of the debate, the lord treasurer observed, that although the malt-tax was imposed, it might be afterwards remitted by the crown: the earl of Sunderland expressed surprise at hearing that noble lord broach a doctrine which tended to establish a despotic dispensing power, and arbitrary government: Oxford replied, his family had never been famous, as some others had been, for promoting and advising arbitrary measures: Sunderland, considering this expression as a sarcasm levelled at the memory of his father, took occasion to vindicate his conduct, adding, that in those days the other lord's family was hardly known. Much violent altercation was discharged: at length, the motion for the bill was rejected by a small majority, and the malt-bill afterwards passed with great difficulty.

27. Another bill being brought into the house of commons for rendering the treaty of commerce effectual, such a number of petitions were delivered against it, and so many solid arguments advanced by the merchants who were examined on the subject, that even a great number of tory members were convinced of the bad consequence it would produce to trade, and voted against the ministry on this occasion; so that the bill was rejected by a majority of nine voices: at the same time, however, the house agreed to an address, thanking her majesty for the great care she had taken of the security and honor of her kingdoms in the treaty of peace; as also for having laid so good a foundation for the interest of her people in trade: they likewise besought her to appoint commissioners to treat with those of France, for adjusting such matters as should be necessary to be settled on the subject of commerce, that the treaty might be explained and perfected for the good and welfare of her people: the queen interpreted this address into a full approbation of the treaties of peace and commerce, and thanked them accordingly in the warmest terms of satis-



faction and acknowledgement. The commons afterwards desired to know what equivalent should be given for the demolition of Dunkirk; and she gave them to understand that this was already in the hands of his most christian majesty: then they besought her, that she would not evacuate the towns of Flanders that were in her possession, until those who were entitled to the sovereignty of the Spanish Netherlands should agree to such articles for regulating trade as might place the subjects of Great Britain on an equal footing with those of any other nation: the queen made a favorable answer to all their remonstrances. Such were the steps taken by the parliament during this session with relation to the famous treaty of Utrecht, against which the whigs exclaimed so violently, that many well-meaning people believed it would be attended with the immediate ruin of the kingdom: yet under the shadow of this very treaty, Great Britain enjoyed a long term of peace and tranquillity. Bishop Burnet was heated with an enthusiastic terror of the house of Bourbon: he declared to the queen in private, that any treaty by which Spain and the West-Indies were left in the hands of king Philip must in a little time deliver all Europe into the hands of France; that if any such peace was made, the queen was betrayed, and the people ruined; that in less than three years she would be murdered, and the fires would blaze again in Smithfield. This prelate lived to see his prognostic disappointed; therefore he might have suppressed this anecdote of his own conduct.

28. On the twenty-fifth of June, the queen signified, in a message to the house of commons, that her civil list was burdened with some debts incurred by several articles of extraordinary expense; and that she hoped they would empower her to raise such a sum of money on the funds for that provision, as would be sufficient to discharge the encumbrances, which amounted to £500,000: a bill was immediately prepared for raising this sum on the civil-list revenue, and passed through both houses with some difficulty. Both lords and commons addressed the queen concerning the chevalier de St. George, who had repaired to Lorrain: they desired she would press the duke of that name, and all the princes and states in amity with her, to exclude from their dominions the pretender to the imperial crown of Great Britain: a public thanksgiving for the peace was appointed and celebrated with great solemnity; and on the sixteenth of July the queen closed the session with a

speech which was not at all agreeable to the violent whigs, because it did not contain one word about the pretender and the protestant succession: from these omissions they concluded that the dictates of natural affection had biased her in favor of the chevalier de St. George: whatever sentiments of tenderness and compassion she might feel for that unfortunate exile, the acknowledged son of her own father, it does not appear that she ever entertained a thought of altering the succession as by law established. The term of Sacheverel's suspension being expired, extraordinary rejoicings were made on the occasion: he was desired to preach before the house of commons, who thanked him for his sermon, and the queen promoted him to the rich benefice of St. Andrew, Holborn: on the other hand, the duke d'Aumont, ambassador from France, was insulted by the populace: scurrilous ballads were published against him both in the English and French languages: he received divers anonymous letters, containing threats of setting fire to his house, which was accordingly burned to the ground, though whether by accident or design he could not well determine. The magistracy of Dunkirk, having sent a deputation with an address to the queen, humbly imploring her majesty to spare the port and harbor of that town, and representing that they might be useful to her own subjects, the memorial was printed and dispersed, and the arguments it contained were answered and refuted by Addison, Steele, and Maynwaring: commissioners were sent to see the fortifications of Dunkirk demolished: they were accordingly rased to the ground, the harbor was filled up, and the duke d'Aumont returned to Paris in the month of November. The queen, by her remonstrances to the court of Versailles, had procured the enlargement of 136 protestants from the galleys: understanding afterwards that as many more were detained on the same account, she made such application to the French ministry, that they too were released: then she appointed general Ross her envoy extraordinary to the king of France.

29. The duke of Shrewsbury being nominated lord-lieutenant of Ireland, assembled the parliament of that kingdom on the twenty-fifth of November, and found the two houses still at variance on the opposite principles of whig and tory. Allan Broderick being chosen speaker of the commons, they ordered a bill to be brought in to attain the pretender and all his adherents: they prosecuted Edward Lloyd, for publishing a book entitled, '*Memoirs of the Chevalier de St*

George;' and they agreed on an address to the queen, to remove from the chancellorship Sir Constantine Phipps, who had countenanced the tories of that kingdom: the lords however resolved that chancellor Phipps had, in his several stations, acquitted himself with honor and integrity: the two houses of convocation presented an address to the same purpose: they likewise complained of Mr. Molesworth, for having insulted them, by saying, when they appeared in the castle of Dublin, 'They that have turned the world upside down are come hither also;' and he was removed from the privy-council: the duke of Shrewsbury received orders to prorogue this parliament, which was divided against itself, and portended nothing but domestic broils: then he obtained leave to return to England, leaving chancellor Phipps, with the archbishops of Armagh and Tuam justices of the kingdom.

30. The parliament of England had been dissolved, and the elections were managed in such a manner as to retain the legislative power in the hands of the tories; but the meeting of the new parliament was delayed, by repeated prorogations, to the tenth of December; a delay, partly owing to the queen's indisposition, and partly to the contests among her ministers. Oxford and Bolingbroke were competitors for power, and rivals in reputation for ability: the treasurer's parts were deemed the more solid, the secretary's more shining; but both ministers were aspiring and ambitious: the first was bent on maintaining the first rank in the administration, which he had possessed since the revolution in the ministry; the other disdained to act as a subaltern to the man whom he thought he excelled in genius, and equalled in importance: they began to form separate cabals, and adopt different principles: Bolingbroke insinuated himself into the confidence of lady Masham, to whom Oxford had given some cause of disgust: by this communication he gained ground in the good opinion of his sovereign, while the treasurer lost it in the same proportion: thus she, who had been the author of his elevation, was now used as the instrument of his disgrace. The queen was sensibly affected with these dissensions, which she interposed her advice and authority by turns to appease; but their mutual animosity continued to rankle under an exterior accommodation: the interest of Bolingbroke was powerfully supported by Sir Simon Harcourt, the chancellor, Sir William Wyndham, and Mr. secretary Bromley: Oxford perceived

his own influence was on the wane, and began to think of retirement: meanwhile the earl of Peterborough was appointed ambassador to the king of Sicily, and set out for Turin. The queen retired to Windsor, where she was seized with a very dangerous inflammatory fever: the hopes of the Jacobites visibly rose; the public funds immediately fell; a great run was made on the Bank, the directors of which were overwhelmed with consternation, which was not a little increased by the report of an armament equipped in the ports of France: they sent one of their members to represent to the treasurer the danger that threatened the public credit. The queen, being made acquainted with these occurrences, signed a letter to Sir Samuel Stancer, lord mayor of London, declaring, that now she was recovered of her late indisposition, she would return to the place of her usual residence, and open the parliament on the sixteenth of February: this intimation she sent to her loving subjects of the city of London, to the intent that all of them, in their several stations, might discountenance those malicious rumors, spread by evil-minded persons, to the prejudice of credit, and the imminent hazard of the public peace and tranquillity. The queen's recovery, together with certain intelligence that the armament was a phantom and the pretender still in Lorrain, helped to assuage the ferment of the nation, which had been industriously raised by party writings: Mr. Richard Steele published a performance, entitled, 'The Crisis,' in defence of the revolution and the protestant establishment, and enlarging on the danger of a popish successor: on the other hand, the hereditary right to the crown of England was asserted in a large volume, supposed to be written with a view to pave the way for the pretender's accession: one Bedford was apprehended, tried, convicted, and severely punished, as the publisher of this treatise.

31. While England was harassed by these intestine commotions, the emperor, rejecting the terms of peace proposed by France, resolved to maintain the war at his own expense, with the assistance of the empire: his forces on the Rhine, commanded by prince Eugene, were so much outnumbered by the French under Villars, that they could not prevent the enemy from reducing the two important fortresses of Landau and Friburg. His imperial majesty hoped that the death of queen Anne, or that of Louis XIV. would produce an alteration in Europe that might be favorable to his in-

terest; and he depended on the conduct and fortune of prince Eugene for some lucky event in war: but finding himself disappointed in all these expectations, and absolutely unable to support the expense of another campaign, he hearkened to overtures of peace that were made by the electors of Cologne and palatine; and conferences were opened at the castle of Al-Rastadt, between prince Eugene and marshal de Villars, on the twenty-sixth of November: in the beginning of February these ministers separated, without seeming to have come to any conclusion; but all the articles being settled between the two courts of Vienna and Versailles, they met again the latter end of the month: the treaty was signed on the third of March, and orders were sent to the governors and commanders on both sides to desist from all hostilities. By this treaty, the French king yielded to the emperor Old Brisac, with all its dependences, Friburg, the forts in the Brisgau and Black Forest, together with Fort Kehl: he engaged to demolish the fortifications opposite to Huningen, the fort of Sellingen, and all between that and Fort Louis: the town and fortress of Landau were ceded to the king of France, who acknowledged the elector of Hanover: the electors of Bavaria and Cologne were restored to all their dignities and dominions: the emperor was put in immediate possession of the Spanish Netherlands; and the king of Prussia was permitted to retain the high quarters of Gueldres: finally, the contracting parties agreed that a congress should be opened on the first of May, at Baden in Switzerland, for terminating all differences; and prince Eugene and marshal de Villars were appointed their first plenipotentiaries.

32. The ratifications of the treaty between Great Britain and Spain being exchanged, the peace was proclaimed on the first of March, in London; and the articles were not disagreeable to the English nation. The kingdoms of France and Spain were separated for ever; Philip acknowledged the protestant succession, and renounced the pretender; he agreed to a renewal of the treaty of navigation and commerce concluded in the year 1667; he granted an exclusive privilege to the English for furnishing the Spanish West-Indies with negroes, according to the *assiento* contract;⁵ he ceded

⁵ The *assiento* contract stipulated that from the first of May, 1713 to the first of May, 1743, the company should transport into the West-Indies 144,000 negroes, at the rate of 4800 negroes a

Gibraltar to England, as well as the island of Minorca, on condition that the Spanish inhabitants should enjoy their estates and religion; he obliged himself to grant a full pardon to the Catalonians, with the possession of all their estates, honors, and privileges; and to yield the kingdom of Sicily to the duke of Savoy. The new parliament was opened by commission in February, 1714, and Sir Thomas Hanmer was chosen speaker of the house of commons: on the second of March, the queen, being carried in a sedan to the house of lords, signified to both houses, that she had obtained an honorable and advantageous peace for her own people and for the greatest part of her allies, and she hoped her interposition might prove effectual to complete the settlement of Europe: she observed, that some persons had been so malicious as to insinuate that the protestant succession in the house of Hanover was in danger under her government; but that those who endeavored to distract the minds of men with imaginary dangers could only mean to disturb the public tranquillity: she said, that after all she had done to secure the religion and liberties of her people, she could not mention such proceedings without some degree of warmth; and she hoped her parliament would agree with her, that attempts to weaken her authority, or to render the possession of the crown uneasy to her, could never be proper means to strengthen the protestant succession. Affectionate addresses were presented by the lords, the commons, and the convocation; but the ill humor of party still subsisted, and was daily inflamed by new pamphlets and papers: Steele, supported by Addison and Halifax, appeared in the front of those who drew their pens in defence of whig principles, and Swift was the champion of the ministry.

33. The earl of Wharton complained in the house of lords of a libel, entitled, 'The public spirit of the whigs set forth in their generous encouragement of the author of the Crisis:' it was a sarcastic performance, imputed to lord Bolingbroke and Swift, interspersed with severe reflections on the union, the Scottish nation, and the duke of Argyle in particular: the lord treasurer disclaimed all knowledge of the author, and readily concurred in an order for taking into custody John Morphew, the publisher, as well as John Barber, printer of the Gazette, from whose house the copies

year; and pay for each negro thirty-three pieces of eight and one third, in full for all royal duties.

were brought to Morphew. The earl of Wharton said it highly concerned the honor of that august assembly to find out the villain who was author of that false and scandalous libel, that justice might be done to the Scottish nation : he moved, that Barber and his servants might be examined ; but next day, the earl of Mar, one of the secretaries of state, declared, that in pursuance to her majesty's command, he had directed John Barber to be prosecuted : notwithstanding this interposition, which was calculated to screen the offenders, the lords presented an address, beseeching her majesty to issue out her royal proclamation, promising a reward to any person who should discover the author of the libel, which they conceived to be false, malicious, and factious, highly dishonorable and scandalous to her majesty's subjects of Scotland, most injurious to her majesty, and tending to the ruin of the constitution : in compliance with their request, a reward of £300 was offered ; but the author remained safe from all detection.

34. The commons, having granted the supplies, ordered a bill to be brought in for securing the freedom of parliaments, by limiting the number of officers in the house of commons, and it passed through both houses with little difficulty. In March, a complaint was made of several scandalous papers, lately published, under the name of Richard Steele, Esq. a member of the house. Sir William Wyndham observed, that some of that author's writings contained insolent, injurious reflections on the queen herself, and were dictated by the spirit of rebellion : Steele was ordered to attend in his place ; some paragraphs of his works were read, and he answered them with an affected air of self-confidence and unconcern : a day being appointed for his trial, he acknowledged the writings, and entered into a more circumstantial defence : he was assisted by Mr. Addison, general Stanhope, and Mr. Walpole : and attacked by Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Foley, and the attorney-general : whatever could be urged in his favor was but little regarded by the majority, which voted that two pamphlets, entitled, 'The Englishman,' and 'The Crisis,' written by Richard Steele, Esq. were scandalous and seditious libels ; and that he should be expelled the house of commons.

35. The lords, taking into consideration the state of the nation, resolved on addresses to the queen, desiring they might know what steps had been taken for removing the pretender from the dominions of the duke of Lorrain ; that

she would impart to them a detail of the negotiations for peace, a recital of the instances which had been made in favor of the Catalans, and an account of the moneys granted by parliament since the year 1710, to carry on the war in Spain and Portugal: they afterwards agreed to other addresses, beseeching her majesty to lay before them the debts and state of the navy, the particular writs of *noli prosequi* granted since her accession to the throne, and a list of such persons as, notwithstanding sentence of outlawry or attainder, had obtained licenses to return into Great Britain, or other of her majesty's dominions, since the revolution: having voted an application to the queen in behalf of the distressed Catalans, the house adjourned itself to the last of March. As the minds of men had been artfully irritated by false reports of a design undertaken by France in behalf of the pretender, the ambassador of that crown at the Hague disowned it in a public paper, by command of his most christian majesty: the suspicions of many people however had been too deeply planted by the arts and insinuations of the whig leaders, to be eradicated by this or any other declaration; and what served to rivet their apprehensions, was a total removal of the whigs from all the employments, civil and military, which they had hitherto retained: these were now bestowed on professed Tories, some of whom were attached at bottom to the supposed heir of blood. At a time when the queen's views were maliciously misrepresented; when the wheels of her government were actually impeded, and her servants threatened with proscription by a powerful, turbulent, and implacable faction; no wonder that she discharged the partisans of that faction from her service, and filled their places with those who were distinguished by a warm affection to the house of Stuart, and by a submissive respect for the regal authority:⁶ those were steps which her own sagacity must have suggested, and which her ministers would naturally advise as necessary for their own preservation: the whigs were all in commotion, either apprehending, or affecting to apprehend, that a design was formed to secure the pretender's succession to the throne of Great Britain: their chiefs held secret consultations with baron Schutz, the resident from Hanover: they communicated their observations to the elector; they received his instructions; they maintained a correspondence

⁶ Boyer. Burnet. Tindal. Torcy. Bolingbroke. Voltaire.

with the duke of Marlborough; and they concerted measures for opposing all efforts that might be made against the protestant succession on the death of the queen, whose health was by this time so much impaired, that every week was believed to be the last of her life. This conduct of the whigs was resolute, active, and would have been laudable, had their zeal been confined within the bounds of truth and moderation; but they moreover employed all their arts to excite and encourage the fears and jealousies of the people.

36. The house of peers resounded with debates on the Catalans, the pretender, and the danger that threatened the protestant succession: with respect to the Catalonians, they represented, that Great Britain had prevailed on them to declare for the house of Austria, with promise of support, and that these engagements ought to have been made good: lord Bolingbroke declared that the queen had used all her endeavors in their behalf, and that the engagements with them subsisted no longer than king Charles resided in Spain: they agreed however to an address, acknowledging her majesty's endeavors in favor of the Catalans, and requesting she would continue her interposition in their behalf. With respect to the pretender, the whig lords expressed such a spirit of persecution and rancorous hate, as would have disgraced the members of any, even the lowest assembly of Christians: not contented with hunting him from one country to another, they seemed eagerly bent on extirpating him from the face of the earth, as if they had thought it was a crime in him to be born. The earl of Sunderland declared, from the information of the minister of Lorrain, that, notwithstanding the application of both houses to her majesty during the last session concerning the pretender's being removed from Lorrain, no instances had yet been made to the duke for that purpose: lord Bolingbroke affirmed that he himself had made those instances, in the queen's name, to that very minister before his departure from England. The earl of Wharton proposed a question; whether the protestant succession was in danger under the present administration: a warm debate ensued, in which the archbishop of York and the earl of Anglesea joined in the opposition to the ministry: the earl pretended to be convinced and converted by the arguments used in the course of the debate: he owned he had given his assent to the cessation of arms, for which he took shame to himself, asking pardon of God, his country, and his conscience: he affirmed, that the honor

of his sovereign and the good of his country were the rules of his actions; but that, without respect of persons, should he find himself imposed on, he durst pursue an evil minister from the queen's closet to the Tower, and from the Tower to the scaffold: this conversion however was much more owing to a full persuasion, that a ministry divided against itself could not long subsist, and that the protestant succession was firmly secured: he therefore resolved to make a merit of withdrawing himself from the interests of a tottering administration, in whose ruin he might be involved. The duke of Argyle charged the ministers with mal-administration both within those walls and without: he offered to prove that the lord treasurer had yearly remitted a sum of money to the highland clans of Scotland, who were known to be intirely devoted to the pretender: he affirmed that the new-modelling of the army, the practice of disbanding some regiments out of their turn, and removing a great number of officers on account of their affection to the house of Hanover, were clear indications of the ministry's designs; that it was a disgrace to the nation to see men who had never looked an enemy in the face advanced to the posts of several brave officers, who, after they had often exposed their lives for their country, were now starving in prison for debt, on account of their pay being detained. The treasurer, laying his hand on his breast, said he had on so many occasions given such signal proofs of affection to the protestant succession, that he was sure no member of that august assembly did call it in question: he owned he had remitted, for two or three years past, between £3000 and £4000 to the highland clans, and he hoped the house would give him an opportunity to clear his conduct in that particular: with respect to the reformed officers, he declared he had given orders for their being immediately paid. The protestant succession was voted out of danger by a small majority.

37. Lord Halifax proposed an address to the queen, that she would renew her instances for the speedy removing the pretender out of Lorrain; and that she would, in conjunction with the States-General, enter into the guarantee of the protestant succession in the house of Hanover. The earl of Wharton moved, that in the address her majesty should be desired to issue a proclamation, promising a reward to any person who should apprehend the pretender dead or alive: he was seconded by the duke of Bolton; and the house agreed that an address should be presented: when it

was reported by the committee, lord North and Grey expatiated on the barbarity of setting a price on any one's head; he proved it was an encouragement to murder and assassination; contrary to the precepts of christianity; repugnant to the law of nature and nations; inconsistent with the dignity of such an august assembly, and with the honor of a nation famed for lenity and mercy: he was supported by lord Trevor, who moved that the reward should be promised for apprehending and bringing the pretender to justice, in case he should land, or attempt to land, in Great Britain or Ireland: the cruelty of the first clause was zealously supported and vindicated by the lords Cowper and Halifax; but by this time the earl of Anglesea and some others, who had abandoned the ministry, were brought back to their former principles by promise of profitable employments; and the mitigation was adopted by a majority of ten voices: to this address, which was delivered by the chancellor and the whig lords only, the queen replied in these words:—'My lords, it would be a real strengthening to the succession in the house of Hanover, as well as a support to my government, that an end were put to those groundless fears and jealousies which have been so industriously promoted: I do not at this time see any occasion for such a proclamation: whenever I judge it to be necessary, I shall give my orders for having it issued: as to the other particulars of this address, I will give proper directions therein.' She was likewise importuned, by another address, to issue out a proclamation against all jesuits, popish priests, and bishops, as well as against all such as were outlawed for adhering to the late king James and the pretender. The house resolved, that no person, not included in the articles of Limerick, and who had borne arms in France and Spain, should be capable of any employment civil or military; and that no person, a natural-born subject of her majesty, should be capable of sustaining the character of a public minister from any foreign potentate: these resolutions were aimed at Sir Patrick Lawless, an Irish papist, who had come to England with a credential letter from king Philip, but now thought proper to quit the kingdom.

38. Then the lords in the opposition made an attack on the treasurer concerning the money he had remitted to the highlanders; but Oxford silenced his opposers, by asserting, that in so doing, he had followed the example of king William, who, after he had reduced that people,

thought fit to allow yearly pensions to the heads of clans, in order to keep them quiet: his conduct was approved by the house; and lord North and Grey moved that a day might be appointed for considering the state of the nation with regard to the treaties of peace and commerce: the motion was seconded by the earl of Clarendon, and the thirteenth of April fixed for this purpose: in the mean time, baron Schutz demanded of the chancellor a writ for the electoral prince of Hanover, to sit in the house of peers as duke of Cambridge, intimating that his design was to reside in England: the writ was granted with reluctance; but the prince's design of coming to England was so disagreeable to the queen, that she signified her disapprobation of such a step in a letter to the princess Sophia: she observed, that such a method of proceeding would be dangerous to the succession itself, which was not secure any other way, than as the prince who was in actual possession of the throne maintained her authority and prerogative: she said a great many people in England were seditiously disposed; so she left her highness to judge what tumults they might be able to raise, should they have a pretext to begin a commotion; she therefore persuaded herself that her aunt would not consent to any thing which might disturb the repose of her and her subjects: at the same time she wrote a letter to the electoral prince, complaining that he had formed such a resolution, without first knowing her sentiments on the subject; and telling him plainly, that nothing could be more dangerous to the tranquillity of her dominions, to the right of succession in the Hanoverian line, or more disagreeable to her, than such conduct at this juncture: a third letter was written to the elector, his father; and the treasurer took this opportunity to assure that prince of his inviolable attachment to the family of Hanover.

39. The whig lords were dissatisfied with the queen's answer to their address concerning the pretender; and they moved for another address on the same subject, which was resolved on, but never presented: they took into consideration the treaties of peace and commerce, to which many exceptions were taken, and much sarcasm was expended on both sides of the dispute; but at length the majority carried the question in favor of an address, acknowledging her majesty's goodness in delivering them, by a safe, honorable, and advantageous peace with France, from the burden of a consuming land war, unequally carried

on, and become at last impracticable: the house of commons concurred in this address, after having voted that the protestant succession was out of danger; but these resolutions were not taken without violent opposition, in which general Stanhope, Mr. Lechmere, and Mr. Walpole chiefly distinguished themselves: the letters which the queen had written to the electoral house of Hanover were printed and published in England, with a view to inform the friends of that family of the reasons which prevented the duke of Cambridge from executing his design of residing in Great Britain: the queen considered this step as a personal insult, as well as an attempt to prejudice her in the opinion of her subjects: she therefore ordered the publisher to be taken into custody. At this period the princess Sophia died, in the eighty-fourth year of her age; and her death was intimated to the queen by baron Bothmar, who arrived in England with the character of envoy extraordinary from the elector of Hanover: this princess was the fourth and youngest daughter of Frederic, elector palatine, king of Bohemia, and Elizabeth, daughter of king James I. of England: she enjoyed from nature an excellent capacity, which was finely cultivated; and was in all respects one of the most accomplished princesses of the age in which she lived: at her death the court of England appeared in mourning; and the elector of Brunswick was prayed for by name in the liturgy of the church of England. On the twelfth of May, Sir William Wyndham made a motion for a bill to prevent the growth of schism, and for the farther security of the church of England, as by law established: the design of it was to prohibit dissenters from teaching in schools and academies: it was accordingly prepared, and eagerly opposed in each house as a species of persecution: nevertheless, it made its way through both, and received the royal assent; but the queen dying before it took place, this law was rendered ineffectual.

40. Her majesty's constitution was now quite broken; one fit of sickness succeeded another; what completed the ruin of her health was the anxiety of her mind, occasioned partly by the discontents which had been raised and fomented by the enemies of her government, and partly by the dissensions among her ministers, which were now become intolerable: the council-chamber was turned into a scene of obstinate dispute and bitter altercation: even in the queen's presence the treasurer and secretary did not abstain from

mutual obloquy and reproach: Oxford advised moderate measures, and is said to have made advances towards a reconciliation with the leaders of the whig party: as he foresaw it would soon be their turn to domineer, such precautions were necessary for his own safety: Bolingbroke affected to set the whigs at defiance; he professed a warm zeal for the church; he soothed the queen's inclinations with the most assiduous attention: he and his coadjutrix insinuated that the treasurer was biased in favor of the dissenters, and even that he acted as a spy for the house of Hanover. In the midst of these disputes and commotions, the Jacobites were not idle: they flattered themselves that the queen in secret favored the pretensions of her brother, and they depended on Bolingbroke's attachment to the same interest: they believed the same sentiments were cherished by the nation in general: they held private assemblies both in Great Britain and in Ireland: they concerted measures for turning the dissensions of the kingdom to the advantage of their cause: they even proceeded so far as to enlist men for the service of the pretender: some of these practices were discovered by the earl of Wharton, who did not fail to sound the alarm: a proclamation was immediately published, promising a reward of £5000 for apprehending the pretender, whenever he should land or attempt to land in Great Britain. The commons voted an address of thanks for the proclamation; and assured her majesty, that they would cheerfully aid and assist her, by granting the sum of £100,000, as a farther reward to any who should perform so great a service to her majesty and her kingdoms; the lords likewise presented an address on the same subject: lord Bolingbroke proposed a bill, decreeing the penalties of high-treason against those who should enlist or be enlisted in the pretender's service: the motion was approved, and the penalty extended to all those who should enlist or be enlisted in the service of any foreign prince or state, without a license under the sign manual of her majesty, her heirs, or successors.

41. On the second of July the lords took into consideration the treaty of commerce with Spain; and a great number of merchants being examined at the bar of the house, declared that unless the explanation of the third, fifth, and eighth articles, as made at Madrid after the treaty was signed, were rescinded, they could not carry on their commerce without

losing five and twenty per cent. : after a long debate, the house resolved to address the queen for all the papers relating to the negociation of the treaty of commerce with Spain, with the name of the person who advised her majesty to that treaty: to this address she replied, that understanding the three explanatory articles of the treaty were not detrimental to the trade of her subjects, she had consented to their being ratified with the treaty. The earl of Wharton represented, that if so little regard was shown to the addresses of that august assembly to the sovereign, they had no business in that house: he moved for a remonstrance, to lay before her majesty the insuperable difficulties that attended the Spanish trade on the footing of the late treaty; and the house agreed to his motion: another member moved, that the house should insist on her majesty's naming the person who advised her to ratify the three explanatory articles: this was a blow aimed at Arthur Moore, a member of the lower house, whom lord Bolingbroke had consulted on the subject of the treaty: he was screened by the majority in parliament; but a general court of the South-Sea company resolved, on a complaint exhibited by captain Johnston, that Arthur Moore, while a director, was privy to and encouraged the design of carrying on a clandestine trade, to the prejudice of the corporation, contrary to his oath, and in breach of the trust reposed in him; that therefore he should be declared incapable of being a director of, or having any employment in, this company. The queen had reserved to herself the quarter-part of the assiento contract, which she now gave up to the company, and received the thanks of the upper house; but she would not discover the names of those who advised her to ratify the explanatory articles. On the ninth of July, she thought proper to put an end to the session, with a speech on the usual subjects: after having assured them that her chief concern was to preserve the protestant religion, the liberty of her subjects, and to secure the tranquillity of her kingdoms, she concluded in these words:—' But I must tell you plainly, that these desirable ends can never be obtained, unless you bring the same dispositions on your parts; unless all groundless jealousies, which create and foment divisions among you, be laid aside; and unless you show the same regard for my just prerogative, and for the honor of my government, as I have already expressed for the rights of my people.'

42. After the peace had thus received the sanction of the

parliament, the ministers, being no longer restrained by the tie of common danger, gave a loose to their mutual animosity: Oxford wrote a letter to the queen, containing a detail of the public transactions; in the course of which he endeavored to justify his own conduct, and expose the turbulent and ambitious spirit of his rival: on the other hand, Bolingbroke charged the treasurer with having invited the duke of Marlborough to return from his voluntary exile, and maintained a private correspondence with the house of Hanover: the duke of Shrewsbury likewise complained of his having presumed to send orders to him in Ireland, without the privity of her majesty and the council: in all probability his greatest crime was his having given umbrage to the favorite, lady Masham: certain it is, on the twenty-seventh of July, a very acrimonious dialogue passed between that lady, the chancellor, and Oxford in the queen's presence: the treasurer affirmed he had been wronged, and abused by lies and misrepresentations; but he threatened vengeance, declaring he would leave some people as low as he had found them when they first attracted his notice: in the mean time he was removed from his employment; and Bolingbroke seemed to triumph in the victory he had obtained: he laid his account with being admitted as chief minister into the administration of affairs; and is said to have formed a design of a coalition with the duke of Marlborough, who at this very time embarked at Ostend for England: probably, Oxford had tried to play the same game, but met with a repulse from the duke, on account of the implacable resentment which the duchess had conceived against that minister.

43. Whatever schemes might have been formed, the fall of the treasurer was so sudden, that no plan was established for supplying the vacancy occasioned by his disgrace: the confusion that incessantly ensued at court, and the fatigue of attending a long cabinet-council on this event, had such an effect on the queen's spirits and constitution, that she declared she should not outlive it, and was immediately seized with a lethargic disorder. Notwithstanding all the medicines which the physicians could prescribe, the distemper gained ground so fast, that next day, which was the thirtieth of July, they despaired of her life: then the committee of the council, assembled at the cockpit, adjourned to Kensington: the dukes of Somerset and Argyle, informed of the desperate situation in which she lay, repaired to the palace; and, with-

out being summoned, entered the council-chamber: the members were surprised at their appearance; but the duke of Shrewsbury thanked them for their readiness to give their assistance at such a critical juncture, and desired they would take their places. The physicians having declared that the queen was still sensible, the council unanimously agreed to recommend the duke of Shrewsbury as the fittest person to fill the place of lord treasurer: when this opinion was intimated to the queen, she said they could not have recommended a person she liked better than the duke of Shrewsbury: she delivered to him the white staff, bidding him use it for the good of her people: he would have returned the lord chamberlain's staff, but she desired he would keep them both; so that he was at one time possessed of the three greatest posts in the kingdom, under the titles of lord treasurer, lord chamberlain, and lord lieutenant of Ireland: no nobleman in England better deserved such distinguishing marks of his sovereign's favor; he was modest, liberal, disinterested, and a warm friend to his country. Bolingbroke's ambition was defeated by the vigor which the dukes of Somerset and Argyre exerted on this occasion: they proposed, that all privy-counsellors in or about London should be invited to attend, without distinction of party: the motion was approved; and lord Somers, with many other whig members, repaired to Kensington. The council, being thus reinforced, began to provide for the security of the kingdom: orders were immediately despatched to four regiments of horse and dragoons, quartered in remote counties, to march up to the neighborhood of London and Westminster: seven of the ten British battalions in the Netherlands were directed to embark at Ostend for England with all possible expedition: an embargo was laid on all shipping; and directions given for equipping all the ships of war that could be soonest in a condition for service: they sent a letter to the elector of Brunswick, signifying that the physicians had despaired of the queen's life; informing him of the measures they had taken; and desiring he would, with all convenient speed, repair to Holland, where he should be attended by a British squadron, to convey him to England, in case of her majesty's decease: at the same time they despatched instructions to the earl of Strafford, to desire the States-General would be ready to perform the guarantee of the protestant succession: the heralds at arms were kept in waiting with a troop of horse-guards, to proclaim the new king as soon as the throne

parliament, the ministers, being no longer in a state of common danger, gave a loose to their animosity: Oxford wrote a letter to the king in detail of the public transactions; in the same he endeavored to justify his own conduct, and the turbulent and ambitious spirit of his rival. Bolingbroke charged the treasurer with having persuaded the duke of Marlborough to return from his exile, and maintained a private correspondence with the king of Hanover: the duke of Shrewsbury charged him with his having presumed to send orders to the king without the privity of her majesty and the council, and that his greatest crime was his having seduced the favorite, lady Masham: certain it is that in the month of July, a very acrimonious dialogue passed between the lady, the chancellor, and Oxford. The treasurer affirmed he had been misrepresented; but in declaring he would leave some papers behind him, he found them when they first attended him. In the mean time he was removed from office, and Bolingbroke seemed to triumph: he laid his account with the king, and obtained the office of minister into the administration. It was now formed a design of a coalition between the duke of Marlborough, who at this very time was in England: probably, Oxford had been in the king's confidence, but met with a repulse from the placable resentment which the king bore to that minister.

43. Whatever schemes might be in the king's mind, the treasurer was so sudden, in his departure, for supplying the vacancy of the office, that confusion and confusion that incessantly attended a long cabinet-council, had such an effect on the queen's spirit, that she declared she should not outlive her illness, with a lethargic disorder, which the physicians could not cure. In the ground so fast, that next day, in the month of July, they despaired of her recovery. The council, assembled at the king's command, the dukes of Somerset and Devonshire, in the situation in which she lay,



G. Kneller del. *J. Smith sculp.*

George R.

CHAP. XII.

GEORGE I.—1714.

1. State of parties in Great Britain—2. King George proclaimed—3. The civil list granted to his majesty by the parliament—4. The electoral prince created prince of Wales—5. The king arrives in England—6. The Tories totally excluded from the royal favor—7. Pretender's manifesto—8. New parliament—9. Substance of the king's first speech—10. Lord Bolingbroke withdraws himself to France—11. Sir William Wyndham reprimanded by the speaker—12. Committee of secrecy—13. Sir John Norris sent with a fleet to the Baltic—14. Discontent of the nation—15. Report of the secret committee—16. Resolutions to impeach lord Bolingbroke, the earl of Oxford, the duke of Ormond, and the earl of Strafford—17. The earl of Oxford sent to the Tower. The proclamation act—18. The king declares to both houses that a rebellion is begun—19. The duke of Ormond and lord Bolingbroke attainted—20. Intrigues of the Jacobites—21. Death of Louis XIV.—22. The earl of Mar sets up the pretender's standard in Scotland—23. Divers members of the lower house taken into custody—24. The pretender proclaimed in the north of England by the earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Foster—25. Mackintosh crosses the frith of Forth into Lothian, and joins the English insurgents—26. who are attacked at Preston, and surrender at discretion.—27. Battle of Drumblane—28. The pretender arrives in Scotland—29. He retires again to France—30. Proceedings of the Irish parliament—31. The rebel lords are impeached and plead guilty—32. The earl of Derwentwater and lord Kenmuir are beheaded—33. Trials of rebels—34. Act for septennial parliaments—35. Duke of Argyle disgraced—36. Triple alliance between England, France, and Holland—37. Count Gyllenburg, the Swedish minister in London, arrested—38. Account of the Oxford riot—39. The king demands an extraordinary supply of the commons—40. Division in the ministry—41. The commons pass the South-Sea act, the bank act, and the general fund act—42. Trial of the earl of Oxford. Act of indemnity—43. Proceedings in the convocation with regard to Dr. Hoadley, bishop of Bangor.

1. It may be necessary to remind the reader of the state of party at this important juncture. The Jacobites had been fed with hopes of seeing the succession altered by the earl of Oxford: these hopes he had conveyed to them in a distant, undeterminate, and mysterious manner, without any other view than that of preventing them from taking violent mea-

tures to embarrass his administration : at least, if he actually entertained at one time any other design, he had, long before his disgrace, laid it wholly aside, probably from an apprehension of the danger with which it must have been attended ; and seemed bent on making a merit of his zeal for the house of Hanover : but his conduct was so equivocal and unsteady, that he ruined himself in the opinion of one party, without acquiring the confidence of the other. The friends of the pretender derived fresh hopes from the ministry of Bolingbroke : though he had never explained himself on this subject, he was supposed to favor the heir of blood, and known to be an implacable enemy to the whigs, who were the most zealous advocates for the protestant succession : the Jacobites promised themselves much from his affection, but more from his resentment ; and they believed the majority of the Tories would join them on the same maxims : all Bolingbroke's schemes of power were defeated by the promotion of the duke of Shrewsbury to the office of treasurer ; and all his hopes blasted by the death of the queen, on whose personal favor he depended : the resolute behavior of the dukes of Somerset and Argyle, together with the diligence and activity of a council in which the whig interest had gained the ascendancy, completed the confusion of the Tories, who found themselves without a head, divided, distracted, and irresolute : on recollection, they saw nothing so eligible as silence, and submission to those measures which they could not oppose with any prospect of success : they had no other objection to the succession in the house of Hanover, but the fear of seeing the whig faction once more predominant ; yet they were not without hope, that their new sovereign, who was reputed a prince of sagacity and experience, would cultivate and conciliate the affection of the Tories, who were the landholders and proprietors of the kingdom ; rather than declare himself the head of a faction, which leaned for support on those who were enemies to the church and monarchy ; on the Bank and the moneyed interest, raised on usury, and maintained by corruption. In a word, the whigs were elated and overbearing ; the Tories abashed and humble ; the Jacobites eager, impatient, and alarmed at a juncture, which, with respect to them, was truly critical.

2. The queen had no sooner resigned her last breath than the privy-council met, and the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, and the Hanoverian resident, Kreyenburg, produced the three instruments in which the elector of Bruns-


wick had nominated the persons to be added as lords justices to the seven great offices of the realm.⁷ Orders were immediately issued for proclaiming king George in England, Scotland, and Ireland: the regency appointed the earl of Dorset to carry to Hanover the intimation of his majesty's accession, and attend him in his journey to England: they sent the general officers in whom they could confide to their respective posts; they reinforced the garrison of Portsmouth; they appointed Mr. Addison their secretary, while Bolingbroke was obliged to stand at the door of the council-chamber with his bag and papers, and underwent every species of mortification: on the whole, king George ascended the throne of Great Britain in the fifty-fifth year of his age, without the least opposition, tumult, or sign of popular discontent; and the unprejudiced part of the nation was now fully persuaded that no design had ever been concerted by queen Anne and her ministry in favor of the pretender. The mayor of Oxford received a letter, requiring him to proclaim the pretender: this being communicated to the vice-chancellor, a copy of it was immediately transmitted to Mr. secretary Bromley, member of parliament for the university; and the vice-chancellor offered a reward of £100 to any person who should discover the author: it was either the production of some lunatic, or a weak contrivance to fix an odium on that venerable body.

3. The parliament having assembled, pursuant to the act which regulated the succession, the lord chancellor, on the fifth of August, made a speech to both houses in the name of the regency; he told them, that the privy-council appointed by the elector of Brunswick had proclaimed that prince under the name of king George, as the lawful and rightful sovereign of these kingdoms, and that they had taken the necessary care to maintain the public peace: he observed, that the several branches of the public revenue were expired by the demise of her late majesty, and recommended to the commons the making such provision in that respect, as might be requisite to support the honor and dignity of the crown: he likewise expressed his hope, that they

⁷ These were the dukes of Shrewsbury, Somerset, Bolton, Devonshire, Kent, Argyle, Montrose, and Roxburgh; the earls of Pomfret, Anglesea, Carlisle, Nottingham, Abingdon, Scarborough, and Orford; lord viscount Townshend; and lords Halifax and Cowper.

would not be wanting in any thing that might conduce to the establishing and advancing of the public credit. Both houses immediately agreed to addresses, containing the warmest expressions of duty and affection to their new sovereign, who did not fail to return such answers as were very agreeable to the parliament of Great Britain: in the mean time the lower house prepared and passed a bill, granting to his majesty the same civil-list which the queen had enjoyed; with additional clauses for the payment of arrears due to the troops of Hanover, which had been in the service of Great Britain; and for a reward of £100,000, to be paid by the treasury, to any person who should apprehend the pretender in landing, or attempting to land, in any part of the British dominions. Mr. Craggs, who had been despatched to Hanover before the queen died, returning on the thirteenth of August with letters from the king to the regency, they went to the house of peers: then the chancellor, in another speech to both houses, intimated his majesty's great satisfaction in the loyalty and affection which his people had universally expressed at his accession: other addresses were voted on this occasion: the commons finished the bill for the civil-list, and one for making some alterations in an act for a state lottery, which received the royal assent from the lords justices: then the parliament was prorogued.

4. Mr. Prior having notified the queen's death to the court of Versailles, Louis declared that he would inviolably maintain the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht, particularly with relation to the settlement of the British crown in the house of Hanover: the earl of Strafford having signified the same event to the States of Holland, and the resident of Hanover having presented them with a letter, in which his master claimed the performance of their guarantee, they resolved to perform their engagements, and congratulated his electoral highness on his succession to the throne of Great Britain: they invited him to pass through their dominions, and assured him that his interests were as dear to them as their own. The chevalier de St. George no sooner received the news of the queen's death, than he posted to Versailles, where he was given to understand that the king of France expected he should quit his territories immediately; and he was accordingly obliged to return to Lorrain. By this time Mr. Murray had arrived in England from Hanover, with notice that the king had de-



ferred his departure for some days : he brought orders to the regency to prepare a patent for creating the prince-royal prince of Wales, and for removing lord Bolingbroke from his post of secretary : the seals were taken from this minister by the dukes of Shrewsbury and Somerset, and lord Cowper, who at the same time sealed up all the doors of his office.

5. King George, having vested the government of his German dominions in a council, headed by his brother prince Ernest, set out with the electoral prince from Herenhausen on the thirty-first of August, and in five days arrived at the Hague, where he conferred with the States-General : on the sixteenth of September he embarked at Orange Polder, under convoy of an English and Dutch squadron, commanded by the earl of Berkley ; and next day arrived at the Hope : in the afternoon the yacht sailed up the river, and his majesty, with the prince, were landed from a barge at Greenwich, about six in the evening : there he was received by the duke of Northumberland, captain of the life-guards, and the lords of the regency : from the landing-place he walked to his house in the Park, accompanied by a great number of the nobility, and other persons of distinction, who had the honor to kiss his hand as they approached : when he retired to his bed-chamber, he sent for those of the nobility who had distinguished themselves by their zeal for his succession ; but the duke of Ormond, the lord chancellor, and lord Trevor were not of the number. Next morning, the earl of Oxford presented himself with an air of confidence, as if he had expected to receive some particular mark of his majesty's favor ; but he had the mortification to remain a considerable time undistinguished among the crowd, and then was permitted to kiss the king's hand, without being honored with any other notice : on the other hand, his majesty expressed uncommon regard for the duke of Marlborough, who had lately arrived in England, as well as for all the leaders of the whig party.

6. It was the misfortune of this prince, as well as a very great prejudice to the nation, that he had been misled into strong prepossessions against the tories, who constituted such a considerable part of his subjects : they were now excluded from all share of the royal favor, which was wholly engrossed by their enemies : these early marks of aversion, which he was at no pains to conceal, alienated the minds of many from his person and government, who would otherwise have served him with fidelity and affection. An

instantaneous and total change was effected in all offices of honor and advantage: the duke of Ormond was dismissed from his command, which the king restored to the duke of Marlborough, whom he likewise appointed colonel of the first regiment of foot-guards, and master of the ordnance: the great seal was given to lord Cowper; the privy seal to the earl of Wharton; the government of Ireland to the earl of Sunderland: the duke of Devonshire was made steward of the household; lord Townshend and Mr. Stanhope were appointed secretaries of state: the post of secretary for Scotland was bestowed on the duke of Montrose: the duke of Somerset was constituted master of the horse; the duke of St. Albans captain of the band of pensioners; and the duke of Argyle commander in chief of the forces in Scotland: Mr. Pulteney became secretary at war; and Mr. Walpole, who had already undertaken to manage the house of commons, was gratified with the double place of paymaster to the army and to Chelsea-hospital: a new privy-council was appointed, and the earl of Nottingham declared president; but all affairs of consequence were concerted by a cabinet-council, or junto, composed of the duke of Marlborough, the earls of Nottingham and Sunderland, the lords Halifax, Townshend, and Somers, and general Stanhope: the regency had already removed Sir Constantine Phipps and the archbishop of Armagh from the office of lords justices of Ireland, and filled their places in the regency of that kingdom with the archbishop of Dublin and the earl of Kildare: Allan Broderick was appointed chancellor; another privy-council was formed, and the duke of Ormond was named as one of the members: the treasury and admiralty were put into commission; all the governments were changed; and, in a word, the whole nation was delivered into the hands of the whigs: at the same time, the prince-royal was declared prince of Wales, and took his place in council. The king was congratulated on his accession in addresses from the two universities, and from all the cities and corporations in the kingdom: he expressed particular satisfaction at these expressions of loyalty and affection: he declared in council his firm purpose to support and maintain the churches of England and Scotland as they were by law established; an aim which he imagined might be effectually accomplished, without impairing the toleration allowed by law to protestant dissenters, and so necessary to the trade and riches of the kingdom: he more-

over assured them he would earnestly endeavor to render property secure; the good effects of which were no where so clearly seen as in this happy nation. Before the coronation he created some new peers, and others were promoted to higher titles: * on the twentieth of October, he was crowned in Westminster with the usual solemnity, at which the earl of Oxford and lord Bolingbroke assisted: † on that very day, the university of Oxford, in full convocation, unanimously conferred the degree of doctor of civil law on Sir Constantine Phipps, with particular marks of honor and esteem. As the French king was said to protract the demolition of Dunkirk, Mr. Prior received orders to present a memorial to hasten this work, and to prevent the canal of Mardyke from being finished: the answer which he received being deemed equivocal, this minister was recalled, and the earl of Stair appointed ambassador to the court of France, where he prosecuted this affair with uncommon vigor: about the same time, general Cadogan was sent as plenipotentiary to Antwerp, to assist at the barrier-treaty, negotiated there between the emperor and the States-General.

7. Meanwhile the number of the malcontents in England was considerably increased by the king's attachment to the whig faction: the clamor of the church's being in danger was revived; jealousies were excited; seditious libels dispersed; and dangerous tumults raised in different parts of the kingdom: Birmingham, Bristol, Chippenham, Norwich, and Reading were filled with licentious riot: the party cry was, 'down with the whigs!' 'Sacheverel for ever!' Many gentlemen of the whig faction were abused; magistrates in towns, and justices in the country, were reviled and insulted by the populace in the execution of their office. The pretender took this opportunity to transmit, by the French mail,

* James, lord Chandos, was created earl of Carnarvon; Lewis, lord Rockingham, earl of that name; Charles, lord Ossulton, earl of Tankerville; Charles, lord Halifax, earl of Halifax; Heneage, lord Guernsey, earl of Aylesford; John, lord Hervey, earl of Bristol; Thomas, lord Pelham, earl of Clare; Henry, earl of Thomond, in Ireland, viscount Tadcaster; James, viscount Castleton, in Ireland, baron Sanderson; Bennet, lord Sherrard, in Ireland, baron Harborough; Gervase, lord Pierrepont, in Ireland, baron Pierrepont, in the county of Bucks; Henry Boyle, baron Carleton, in the county of York; Sir Richard Temple, baron Cobham; Henry, lord Paget, earl of Uxbridge.

† In the month of October, the princess of Wales arrived in England with her two eldest daughters, the princesses Anne and Amelia.

copies of a printed manifesto to the dukes of Shrewsbury, Marlborough, Argyle, and other noblemen of the first distinction : in this declaration he mentioned the good intentions of his sister towards him, which were prevented by her deplorable death : he observed that his people, instead of doing him and themselves justice, had proclaimed for their king a foreign prince, contrary to the fundamental and incontestable laws of hereditary right, which their pretended acts of settlement could never abrogate : these papers being delivered to the secretaries of state, the king refused an audience to the marquis de Lamberti, minister from the duke of Lorraine, on the supposition that this manifesto could not have been prepared or transmitted without the knowledge and countenance of his master : the marquis having communicated this circumstance to the duke, that prince absolutely denied his having been privy to the transaction, and declared that the chevalier de St. George came into Lorraine by the directions of the French king, whom the duke could not disoblige without exposing his territories to invasion : notwithstanding this apology, the marquis was given to understand that he could not be admitted to an audience until the pretender should be removed from the dominions of his master ; he therefore quitted the kingdom without farther hesitation. Religion was still mingled in all political disputes : the high-churchmen complained that impiety and heresy daily gained ground from the connivance, or at least the supine negligence of the whig prelates : the lower house of convocation had, before the queen's death, declared that a book published by Dr. Samuel Clarke, under the title of 'The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity,' contained assertions contrary to the catholic faith : they sent up extracts from this performance to the bishops, and the doctor wrote an answer to their objections : he was prevailed on to write an apology, which he presented to the upper house ; but apprehending it might be published separately and misunderstood, he afterwards delivered an explanation to the bishop of London : this was satisfactory to the bishops ; but the lower house resolved that it was no recantation of his heretical assertions : the disputes about the Trinity increasing, the archbishops and bishops received directions, which were published, for preserving unity in the church, the purity of the christian faith concerning the holy Trinity, and for maintaining the peace and quiet of the state : by these every preacher was restricted from delivering any other doctrine than what

is contained in the Holy Scriptures with respect to the Trinity, and from intermeddling in any affairs of state or government: the like prohibition was extended to those who should write, harangue, or dispute on the same subjects.

8. The parliament being dissolved, another was called by a very extraordinary proclamation, in which the king complained of the evil designs of men disaffected to his succession, and of their having misrepresented his conduct and principles: he mentioned the perplexity of public affairs, the interruption of commerce, and the heavy debts of the nation: he expressed his hope that his loving subjects would send up to parliament the fittest persons to redress the present disorders; and that in the elections they would have a particular regard to such as had expressed a firm attachment to the protestant succession when it was in danger. It does not appear that the protestant succession was ever in danger: how then was this declaration to be interpreted? people in general construed it into a design to maintain party distinctions, and encourage the whigs to the full exertion of their influence in the elections; into a renunciation of the tories; and as the first flash of that vengeance which afterwards was seen to burst on the heads of the late ministry. When the earl of Strafford returned from Holland, all his papers were seized by an order from the secretary's office: Mr. Prior was recalled from France, and promised to discover all he knew relating to the conduct of Oxford's administration: uncommon vigor was exerted on both sides in the elections; but, by dint of the moneyed interest, which prevailed in most of the corporations through the kingdom; and the countenance of the ministry, which will always have weight with needy and venal electors; a great majority of whigs was returned both in England and Scotland.

9. When this new parliament assembled on the seventeenth of March, 1715, at Westminster, Mr. Spencer Compton was chosen speaker of the commons: on the twenty-first of the month, the king appeared in the house of lords, and delivered to the chancellor a written speech, which was read in presence of both houses. His majesty thanked his faithful and loving subjects for that zeal and firmness they had shown in defence of the protestant succession against all the open and secret practices which had been used to defeat it: he told them that some conditions of the peace, essential to the security and trade of Great Britain, were not yet duly

executed; and that the performance of the whole might be looked on as precarious, until defensive alliances should be formed to guaranty the present treaties: he observed, that the pretender boasted of the assistance he expected in England, to repair his former disappointment; that great part of the national trade was rendered impracticable; and that the public debts were surprisingly increased ever since the fatal cessation of arms: he gave the commons to understand, that the branches of the revenue formerly granted for the support of the civil government were so far encumbered and alienated, that the produce of the funds which remained, and had been granted to him, would fall short of what was at first designed for maintaining the honor and dignity of the crown; that as it was his and their happiness to see a prince of Wales, who might in due time succeed him on the throne, and to see him blessed with many children; these circumstances would naturally occasion an expense to which the nation had not been for many years accustomed; and therefore he did not doubt but they would think of it with that affection which he had reason to hope from his commons: he desired that no unhappy divisions of parties might divert them from pursuing the common interest of their country: he declared that the established constitution in church and state should be the rule of his government; and that the happiness, ease, and prosperity of his people should be the chief care of his life: he concluded with expressing his confidence, that with their assistance he should disappoint the designs of those who wanted to deprive him of that blessing which he most valued,—the affection of his people.

10. Speeches suggested by a vindictive ministry better became the leader of an incensed party than the father and sovereign of a divided people: this declaration portended measures which it was the interest of the crown to avoid, and suited the temper of the majority in both houses, which breathed nothing but destruction to their political adversaries. The lords, in their address of thanks, professed their hope that his majesty, assisted by the parliament, would be able to recover the reputation of the kingdom in foreign parts, the loss of which they hoped to convince the world by their actions was by no means to be imputed to the nation in general: the tories said this was an invidious reflection, calculated to mislead and inflame the people; for the reputation of the kingdom had never been so high as at this very

juncture: the commons pretended astonishment to find that any conditions of the late peace should not yet be duly executed, and that care was not taken to form such alliances as might have rendered the peace not precarious: they declared their resolution to inquire into these fatal miscarriages; to trace out those measures whereon the pretender placed his hopes, and bring the authors of them to condign punishment. These addresses were not voted without opposition: in the house of lords, the dukes of Buckingham and Shrewsbury, the earl of Anglesea, the archbishop of York, and other peers, both secular and ecclesiastical, observed that their address was injurious to the late queen's memory, and would serve only to increase those unhappy divisions that distracted the kingdom: in the lower house, Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Bromley, Mr. Shippen, general Ross, Sir William Whitelock, and other members took exceptions to passages of the same nature, in the address which the commons had prepared: they were answered by Mr. Walpole, Mr. Pulteney, and Mr. secretary Stanhope: these gentlemen took occasion to declare, that notwithstanding the endeavors which had been used to prevent a discovery of the late mismanagements, by conveying away several papers from the secretary's office, yet the government had sufficient evidence left to prove the late ministry the most corrupt that ever sat at the helm; that those matters would soon be laid before the house, when it would appear that a certain English general had acted in concert with, if not received orders from, marshal de Villars. Lord Bolingbroke, who had hitherto appeared in public, as usual, with remarkable serenity, and spoke in the house of lords with great freedom and confidence, thought it was now high time to consult his personal safety: he accordingly withdrew to the continent, leaving a letter which was afterwards printed in his justification:¹⁰ in this paper, he declared he had received certain and repeated informations, that a resolution was taken to pursue him to the scaffold; that if there had been the least reason to hope for a fair and open trial, after having been already prejudged, unheard, by the two houses of parliament, he should not have declined the strictest examination: he challenged the most inveterate of his enemies to produce any one instance of criminal correspondence, or the least corruption in any part of the ad-

¹⁰ Boyer. Torrey. Tindal. Bolingbroke. Voltaire.

ministration in which he was concerned : he said, if his zeal for the honor and dignity of his royal mistress, and the true interest of his country, had any where transported him to let slip a warm and unguarded expression, he hoped the most favorable interpretation would be put on it : he affirmed, that he had served her majesty faithfully and dutifully in that especially which she had most at heart, relieving her people from a bloody and expensive war ; and that he had always been too much an Englishman to sacrifice the interest of his country to any foreign ally whatsoever.

11. In the midst of all this violence against the late ministers, friends were not wanting to espouse their cause in the face of opposition, and even in some addresses to the king their conduct was justified : nay, some individuals had courage enough to attack the present administration : when a motion was made in the house of commons, to consider the king's proclamation for calling a new parliament, Sir William Whitelock, member for the university of Oxford, boldly declared it was unprecedented and unwarrantable : being called on to explain himself, he made an apology : nevertheless, Sir William Wyndham, rising up, said the proclamation was not only unprecedented and unwarrantable, but even of dangerous consequence to the very being of parliaments : when challenged to justify his charge, he observed that every member was free to speak his thoughts : some exclaimed, 'the Tower! the Tower!' A warm debate ensued ; Sir William, being ordered to withdraw, was accompanied by 129 members ; and those who remained in the house resolved that he should be reprimanded by the speaker : he was accordingly rebuked for having presumed to reflect on his majesty's proclamation, and having made an unwarrantable use of the freedom of speech granted by his majesty : Sir William said, he was not conscious of having offered any indignity to his majesty, or of having been guilty of a breach of privilege ; that he acquiesced in the determination of the house, but had no thanks to give to those gentlemen, who, under pretence of lenity, had subjected him to this censure.

12. On the ninth of April, general Stanhope delivered to the house of commons fourteen volumes, consisting of all the papers relating to the late negotiations of peace and commerce, as well as to the cessation of arms ; and moved that they might be referred to a select committee of twenty persons, who should digest the substance of them under proper heads, and report them, with their observations, to

the house: one more was added to the number of this secret committee, which was chosen by ballot, and met that same evening: Mr. Robert Walpole, original chairman, being taken ill, was succeeded in that place by Mr. Stanhope: the whole number was subdivided into three committees; to each a certain number of books was allotted; and they carried on the inquiry with great eagerness and expedition. Before this measure was taken, Dr. Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Sarum, died of a pleuritic fever, in the seventy-second year of his age: immediately after the committee had begun to act, the whig party lost one of their warmest champions by the death of the marquis of Wharton, a nobleman possessed of happy talents for the cabinet, the senate, and the common scenes of life; talents, which a life of pleasure and libertinism did not prevent him from employing with surprising vigor and application. The committee of the lower house, taking the civil-list into consideration, examined several papers relating to that revenue: the tories observed, that from the £700,000 granted annually to king William, £50,000 were allotted to the late queen, when princess of Denmark; £20,000 to the duke of Gloucester; and twice that sum, as a dowry to James's queen; that near £200,000 had been yearly deducted from the revenues of the late queen's civil-list, and applied to other uses; notwithstanding which deduction, she had honorably maintained her family, and supported the dignity of the crown. In the course of the debate some warm altercation passed between lord Guernsey and one of the members, who affirmed that the late ministry had used the whigs, and indeed the whole nation in such a manner, that nothing they should suffer could be deemed a hardship: at length, the house agreed that the sum of £700,000 clear should be granted for the civil-list during his majesty's life: a motion being made for an address against pensions, it was opposed by Mr. Walpole, and over-ruled by the majority: the lords passed the bill for regulating the land forces, with some amendments.

13. On the eighteenth of May, Sir John Norris sailed with a strong squadron to the Baltic, in order to protect the commerce of the nation, which had suffered from the king of Sweden, who caused all ships trading to those parts to be seized and confiscated: that prince had rejected the treaty of neutrality concerted by the allies for the security of the empire; and considered the English and Dutch as his

enemies: the ministers of England and the States-General had presented memorials to the regency of Sweden; but finding no redress, they resolved to protect their trade by force of arms: after the Swedish general, Steenboch, and his army were made prisoners, count Wellen concluded a treaty with the administration of Holstein-Gottorp, by which the towns of Stetin and Wismar were sequestered into the hands of the king of Prussia; the administrator engaged to secure them, and all the rest of Swedish Pomerania, from the Poles and Muscovites; but, as the governor of Pomerania refused to comply with this treaty, those allies marched into the province, subdued the island of Rugen, and obliged Stetin to surrender: then the governor consented to the sequestration, and paid to the Poles and Muscovites 400,000 rix-dollars, to indemnify them for the expense of the siege. The king of Sweden, returning from Turkey, rejected the treaty of sequestration, and insisted on Stetin's being restored, without his repaying the money: as this monarch likewise threatened to invade the electorate of Saxony, and chastise his false friend; king George, for the security of his German dominions, concluded a treaty with the king of Denmark, by which the duchies of Bremen and Verden, which had been taken from the Swedes in his absence, were made over to his Britannic majesty, on condition that he should immediately declare war against Sweden: accordingly he took possession of the duchies in October; published a declaration of war against Charles in his German dominions; and detached 6000 Hanoverians to join the Danes and Prussians in Pomerania: these allies reduced the islands of Rugen and Uledon, and attacked the towns of Wismar and Stralsund, from which last place Charles was obliged to retire in a vessel to Schonen: he assembled a body of troops with which he proposed to pass the Sound on the ice, and attack Copenhagen; but was disappointed by a sudden thaw: nevertheless, he refused to return to Stockholm, which he had not seen for sixteen years; but remained at Carlsroon, in order to hasten his fleet for the relief of Wismar.

14. The spirit of discontent and disaffection seemed to gain ground every day in England: notwithstanding proclamations against riots, and orders of the justices for maintaining the peace, repeated tumults were raised by the malcontents in the cities of London and Westminster: those who celebrated the anniversary of the king's birthday with the usual

marks of joy and festivity, were insulted by the populace; but next day, which was the anniversary of the restoration, the whole city was lighted up with bonfires and illuminations, and echoed with the sound of mirth and tumultuous rejoicing: the people even obliged the life-guards, who patrolled through the streets, to join in the cry of 'high-church and Ormond!' and in Smithfield they burned the picture of king William: thirty persons were imprisoned for being concerned in these riots: one Bournois, a school-master, who affirmed that king George had no right to the crown, was tried, and scourged through the city with such severity, that in a few days he expired in the utmost torture. A frivolous incident served to increase the popular ferment: the shirts allowed the first regiment of guards, commanded by the duke of Marlborough, were so coarse, that the soldiers could hardly be persuaded to wear them: some were thrown into the garden of the king's palace, and into that which belonged to the duke of Marlborough: a detachment, in marching through the city, produced them to the view of the shopkeepers and passengers, exclaiming, 'These are the Hanover shirts!' The court, being informed of this clamor, ordered those new shirts to be burned immediately; but even this sacrifice, and an advertisement published by the duke of Marlborough in his own vindication, did not acquit that general of suspicion that he was concerned in this mean species of peculation: a reward of fifty pounds was offered by government to any person that would discover one captain Wight, who, by an intercepted letter, appeared to be disaffected to king George; and Mr. George Jefferies was seized at Dublin, with a packet, directed to Dr. Jonathan Swift, dean of St. Patricks: several treasonable papers being found in this packet, were transmitted to England; Jefferies was obliged to give bail for his appearance, and Swift thought proper to abscond.

15. The house of lords, to demonstrate their abhorrence of all who should engage in conspiracies against their sovereign, rejected with indignation a petition presented to them in behalf of Blackburn, Casils, Barnarde, Meldrum, and Chambers, who had hitherto continued prisoners, for having conspired against the life of king William: on the ninth of June, Mr. Walpole, as chairman of the secret committee, declared to the house of commons, that the report was ready; and in the mean time moved that a warrant might be issued by Mr. Speaker, for apprehending several persons,

particularly Mr. Matthew Prior and Mr. Thomas Harley, who being in the house, were immediately taken into custody: then he recited the report, ranged under these different heads: the clandestine negociation with Monsieur Menager; the extraordinary measures pursued to form the congress at Utrecht; the trifling of the French plenipotentiaries, by the connivance of the British ministers; the negociation about the renunciation of the Spanish monarchy; the fatal suspension of arms; the seizure of Ghent and Bruges, in order to distress the allies and favor the French; the duke of Ormond's acting in concert with the French general; the lord Bolingbroke's journey to France to negotiate a separate peace; Mr. Prior's and the duke of Shrewsbury's negociation in France; the precipitate conclusion of the peace at Utrecht. The report being read, Sir Thomas Hanmer moved, that the consideration of it should be adjourned to a certain day; and that in the mean time the report should be printed for the perusal of the members: he was seconded by the Tories; a debate ensued; and the motion was rejected by a great majority.

16. This point being gained, Mr. Walpole impeached Henry lord viscount Bolingbroke of high-treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanors: Mr. Hungerford declared his opinion, that nothing mentioned in the report, in relation to lord Bolingbroke, amounted to high-treason; and general Ross expressed the same sentiment: then lord Coningsby, standing up;—'The worthy chairman,' said he, 'has impeached the hand, but I impeach the head; he has impeached the clerk, and I the justice; he has impeached the scholar, and I the master: I impeach Robert, earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer, of high-treason, and other crimes and misdemeanors.' Mr. auditor Harley, the earl's brother, spoke in vindication of that minister: he affirmed he had done nothing but by the immediate command of his sovereign; that the peace was a good peace, and approved as such by two parliaments; and that the facts charged to him in the report amounted only to misdemeanors: if the sanction of a parliament, which is the representative and legislature of the nation, be not sufficient to protect a minister from the vengeance of his enemies, he can have no security. Mr. auditor Foley, the earl's brother-in-law, made a speech to the same purpose: Sir Joseph Jekyl, a stanch whig, and member of the secret committee, expressed his doubt, whether they had sufficient matter or evidence to impeach the earl of high-

treason: nevertheless the house resolved to impeach him without a division: when he appeared in the house of lords next day, he found himself deserted by his brother peers as infectious; and retired with signs of confusion. Prior and Harley having been examined by such of the committee as were justices of the peace for Middlesex, Mr. Walpole informed the house that matters of such importance appeared in Prior's examination, that he was directed to move them for that member's being closely confined: Prior was accordingly imprisoned, and cut off from all communication. On the twenty-first of June, Mr. secretary Stanhope impeached James, duke of Ormond, of high-treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanors. Mr. Archibald Hutchinson, one of the commissioners of trade, spoke in favor of the duke: he expatiated on his noble birth and qualifications; he enumerated the great services performed to the crown and nation by his grace and his ancestors; he observed, that in the whole course of his late conduct he had only obeyed the queen's commands; and he affirmed that all allegations against him could not, in the rigor of the law, be construed into high-treason: Mr. Hutchinson was seconded by general Lumley, who urged that the duke of Ormond had on all occasions given signal proofs of his affection for his country, as well as of personal courage; and that he had generously expended the best part of his estate, by living abroad in a most noble and splendid manner, for the honor of his sovereign. Sir Joseph Jekyl said if there was room for mercy, he hoped it would be shown to that noble, generous, and courageous peer, who had in a course of many years exerted those great accomplishments for the good and honor of his country; that, as the statute of Edward III. on which the charge of high-treason against him was to be grounded, had been mitigated by subsequent acts, the house ought not, in his opinion, to take advantage of that act against the duke, but only impeach him of high crimes and misdemeanors. General Ross, Sir William Wyndham, and the speakers of that party did not abandon the duke in this emergency; but all their arguments and eloquence were lost on the other faction, by which they were greatly outnumbered: the question being put, was carried for the impeachment of the duke of Ormond, who perceiving every thing conducted by a furious spirit of revenge, and that he could not expect the benefit of an impartial trial, consulted his own safety, by withdrawing himself from the kingdom.

On the twenty-second of June, the earl of Strafford was likewise impeached by Mr. Aislaby, for having advised the fatal suspension of arms, and the seizing of Ghent and Bruges ; as well as for having treated the most serene house of Hanover with insolence and contempt : he was also defended by his friends, but overpowered by his enemies.

17. When the articles against the earl of Oxford were read in the house, a warm debate arose on the eleventh, by which he was charged with having advised the French king in what manner Tournay might be gained from the States-General : the question being put, whether this article amounted to high-treason ; Sir Robert Raymond, formerly solicitor-general, maintained the negative, and was supported not only by Sir William Wyndham and the tories, but also by Sir Joseph Jekyl : this honest patriot said it was ever his principle to do justice to every body, from the highest to the lowest ; and that it was the duty of an honest man never to act by a spirit of party : that he hoped he might pretend to have some knowledge of the laws of the kingdom ; and would not scruple to declare, that, in his judgment, the charge in question did not amount to high-treason. Mr. Walpole answered with great warmth, that there were several persons both in and out of the committee, who did not in the least yield to that member in point of honesty, and who were superior to him in the knowledge of the laws ; yet were satisfied that the charge specified in the eleventh article amounted to high-treason. This point being decided against the earl, and the other articles approved by the house, lord Coningsby, attended by the whig members, impeached the earl of Oxford at the bar of the house of lords, demanding at the same time that he might be sequestered from parliament, and committed to safe custody. A motion was made that the consideration of the articles might be adjourned : after a short debate, the articles were read ; then the tory lords moved that the judges might be consulted : the motion being rejected, another was made, that the earl should be committed to safe custody ; this occasioned another debate, in which he himself spoke to the following purpose : that the whole charge might be reduced to the negotiations and conclusions of the peace ; that the nation wanted a peace, he said, nobody would deny ; that the conditions of the peace were as good as could be expected, considering the backwardness and reluctance which some of the allies showed to come into the queen's measures ; that the peace was approved by

two successive parliaments; that he had no share in the affair of Tournay, which was wholly transacted by that unfortunate nobleman who has thought fit to step aside; that, for his own part, he always acted by the immediate directions and commands of the late queen, without offending against any known law; and, being justified by his own conscience, was unconcerned for the life of an insignificant old man; that if ministers of state, acting by the immediate commands of their sovereign, are afterwards to be made accountable for their proceedings, it might one day or other be the case with all the members of that august assembly; that he did not doubt their lordships, out of regard to themselves, would give him an equitable hearing; and that in the prosecution of the inquiry it would appear he had merited not only the indulgence, but even the favor of his government:—‘My lords,’ said he, ‘I am now to take my leave of your lordships and of this honorable house, perhaps for ever: I shall lay down my life with pleasure in a cause favored by my late dear royal mistress. When I consider that I am to be judged by the justice, honor, and virtue of my peers, I shall acquiesce, and retire with great content; and, my lords, God’s will be done.’ The duke of Shrewsbury having acquainted the house that the earl was very much indisposed with the gravel, he was suffered to remain at his own house, in custody of the black-rod: in his way thither he was attended by a great multitude of people, crying, ‘high-church, Ormond, and Oxford for ever!’ Next day he was brought to the bar, where he received a copy of the articles, and was allowed a month to prepare his answer: though Dr. Mead declared that if the earl should be sent to the Tower his life would be in danger, it was carried, on a division, that he should be conveyed thither, on the sixteenth of July. During the debate, the earl of Anglesea observed that these impeachments were disagreeable to the nation; and that it was to be feared such violent measures would make the sceptre shake in the king’s hands: this expression kindled the whole house into a flame: some members cried, ‘to the Tower!’ some, ‘to order!’ The earl of Sunderland declared, that if these words had been spoken in another place, he would have called the person that spoke them to an account; in the mean time, he moved that the noble lord should explain himself: Anglesea, dreading the resentment of the house, was glad to make an apology, which was accepted. The

earl of Oxford was attended to the Tower by a prodigious concourse of people, who did not scruple to exclaim against his persecutors: tumults were raised in Staffordshire, and other parts of the kingdom, against the whig party, which had depressed the friends of the church, and embroiled the nation: the house of commons presented an address to the king, desiring that the laws might be vigorously executed against the rioters: they prepared the proclamation-act, decreeing, that if any persons, to the number of twelve, unlawfully assembled, should continue together one hour after having been required to disperse by a justice of peace or other officer, and heard the proclamation against riots read in public, they should be deemed guilty of felony without benefit of clergy.

18. When the king went to the house of peers on the twentieth of July, to give the royal assent to this and some other bills, he told both houses that a rebellion was actually begun at home, and that the nation was threatened with an invasion from abroad: he therefore expected that the commons would not leave the kingdom in a defenceless condition, but enable him to take such measures as should be necessary for the public safety. Addresses in the usual style were immediately presented by the parliament, the convocation, the common-council and lieutenancy of London, and the two universities; but that of Oxford was received in the most contemptuous manner, and the deputies were charged with disloyalty on account of a fray which had happened between some recruiting officers and the scholars of the university: the addresses from the kirk of Scotland, and the dissenting ministers of London and Westminster, met with a much more gracious reception. The parliament forthwith passed a bill, empowering the king to secure suspected persons, and to suspend the habeas corpus act in that time of danger: a clause was added to a money-bill, offering the reward of £100,000 to such as should seize the pretender dead or alive: Sir George Byng was sent to take the command of the fleet: general Earle repaired to his government of Portsmouth: the guards were encamped in Hyde-park: lord Irwin was appointed governor of Hull, in the room of brigadier Sutton, who, together with lord Windsor, the generals Ross, Webb, and Stuart, were dismissed from the service: orders were given for raising thirteen regiments of dragoons, and eight of infantry; and the trained bands were kept in readiness to suppress tumults.

* In the midst of these transactions the commons added six articles to those exhibited against the earl of Oxford: lord Bolingbroke was impeached at the bar of the house of lords by Mr. Walpole: bills being brought in to summon him and the duke of Ormond to surrender themselves by the tenth of September, or, in default thereof, to attain them of high-treason, they passed both houses, and received the royal assent. On the last of August, the commons agreed to the articles against the earl of Strafford, which being presented to the house of lords, the earl made a speech in his own vindication: he complained that his papers had been seized in an unprecedented manner: he said, if he had in his letters or discourse dropped any unguarded expressions against some foreign ministers, while he had the honor to represent the crown of Great Britain, he hoped they would not be accounted criminal by a British house of peers: he desired he might be allowed a competent time to answer the articles brought against him, and have duplicates of all the papers which had either been laid before the committee of secrecy, or remained in the hands of government, to be used occasionally in his justification: this request was vehemently opposed by the leaders of the other party, until the earl of Ilay represented that in all civilised nations, all courts of judicature, except the inquisition, allowed the persons arraigned all that was necessary for their justification; and that the house of peers of Great Britain ought not, in this case, to do any thing contrary to that honor and equity for which they were so justly renowned throughout all Europe: this observation made an impression on the house, which resolved that the earl should be indulged with copies of such papers as he might have occasion to use in his defence.

19. On the third of September, Oxford's answer was delivered to the house of lords, who transmitted it to the commons: Mr. Walpole, having heard it read, said it contained little more than a repetition of what had been suggested in some pamphlets and papers which had been published in vindication of the late ministry; that it was a false and malicious libel, laying on his royal mistress the blame of all the pernicious measures he had led her into, against her own honor, and the good of his country; that it was likewise a libel on the proceedings of the commons, since he endeavored to clear those persons who had already confessed their guilt by flight. After some debate, the house resolved that the answer of Robert earl of Oxford should be referred to the

committee appointed to draw up articles of impeachment, and prepare evidence against the impeached lords; and that the committee should prepare a replication to the answer: this was accordingly prepared, and sent up to the lords: then the committee reported, that Mr. Prior had grossly prevaricated on his examination, and behaved with great contempt of their authority. The duke of Ormond and lord viscount Bolingbroke having omitted to surrender themselves within the time limited, the house of lords ordered the earl-marshal to rase out of the list of peers their names and armorial bearings: inventories were taken of their personal estates; and the duke's achievements, as knight of the garter, were taken down from St. George's chapel at Windsor: a man of candor cannot, without an emotion of grief and indignation, reflect on the ruin of the noble family of Ormond, in the person of a brave, generous, and humane nobleman, to whom no crime was imputed, but that of having obeyed the commands of his sovereign. About this period the royal assent was given to an act for encouraging loyalty in Scotland: by this law, the tenant who continued peaceable, while his lord took arms in favor of the pretender, was invested with the property of the lands he rented: on the other hand, it was decreed that the lands possessed by any person guilty of high-treason should revert to the superior of whom they were held, and be consolidated with the superiority; and that all entails and settlements of estates, since the first of August, in favor of children, with a fraudulent intent to avoid the punishment of the law due to the offence of high-treason, should be null and void: it likewise contained a clause for summoning suspected persons to find bail for their good behavior, on pain of being denounced rebels: by virtue of this clause, all the heads of the Jacobite clans, and other suspected persons, were summoned to Edinburgh; and those who did not appear were declared rebels.

20. By this time the rebellion was actually begun in Scotland: the dissensions occasioned in that country by the union had never been wholly appeased: even since the queen's death, addresses were prepared in different parts of Scotland against the union, which was deemed a national grievance; and the Jacobites did not fail to encourage this aversion: though their hopes of dissolving that treaty were baffled by the industry and other arts of the revolutioners, who secured a majority of whigs in parliament, they did not lay aside their designs of attempting something of conse-

quence in favor of the pretender; but maintained a correspondence with the malcontents of England, a great number of whom were driven by apprehension, hard usage, and resentment into a system of politics, which otherwise they would not have espoused. The tories, finding themselves totally excluded from any share in the government and legislature, and exposed to the insolence and fury of a faction which they despised, began to wish in earnest for a revolution: some of them held private consultations, and communicated with the Jacobites, who conveyed their sentiments to the chevalier de St. George with such exaggerations as were dictated by their own eagerness and extravagance: they assured the pretender that the nation was wholly disaffected to the new government; and indeed, the clamors, tumults, and conversation of the people in general countenanced this assertion: they promised to take arms without farther delay in his favor, and engaged that the tories should join him at his first landing in Great Britain: they therefore besought him to come over with all possible expedition, declaring that his appearance would produce an immediate revolution. The chevalier resolved to take the advantage of this favorable disposition: he had recourse to the French king, who had always been the refuge of his family: Louis favored him in secret; and, notwithstanding his late engagements with England, cherished the ambition of raising him to the throne of Great Britain: he supplied him privately with sums of money to prepare a small armament in the port of Havre, which was equipped in the name of *Depine d'Anicaut*; and, without all doubt, his design was to assist him more effectually, in proportion as the English should manifest their attachment to the house of Stuart. The duke of Ormond and lord Bolingbroke, who had retired to France, finding themselves condemned unheard and attainted, engaged in the service of the chevalier, and corresponded with the tories of England.

21. All these intrigues and machinations were discovered and communicated to the court of London by the earl of Stair, who then resided as English ambassador at Paris: he was a nobleman of unquestioned honor and integrity, generous, humane, discerning, and resolute: he had signalised himself by his valor, intrepidity, and other military talents during the war in the Netherlands; and he now acted in another sphere with uncommon vigor, vigilance, and address: he detected the chevalier's scheme while it was yet in

embryo, and gave such early notice of it as enabled the king of Great Britain to take effectual measures for defeating the design. All the pretender's interest in France expired with Louis XIV. that ostentatious tyrant, who had for above half a century sacrificed the repose of christendom to his insatiate vanity and ambition: at his death, which happened on the first of September, the regency of the kingdom devolved to the duke of Orleans, who adopted a new system of politics, and had already entered into engagements with the king of Great Britain: instead of assisting the pretender, he amused his agents with mysterious and equivocal expressions, calculated to frustrate the design of the expedition: nevertheless, the more violent part of the Jacobites in Great Britain believed he was at bottom a friend to their cause, and depended on him for succor: they even extorted from him a sum of money by dint of importunities, and some arms; but the vessel was shipwrecked, and the cargo lost on the coast of Scotland.

22. The partisans of the pretender had proceeded too far to retreat with safety, and therefore resolved to try their fortune in the field: the earl of Mar repaired to the highlands, where he held consultations with the marquises of Huntley and Tullibardine, the earls Marischal and Southesk, the generals Hamilton and Gordon, with the chiefs of the Jacobite clans: then he assembled 300 of his own vassals, proclaimed the pretender at Castletown, and set up his standard at Braemar on the sixth of September: by this time the earls of Home, Wigtoun, and Kinnoul, lord Deskford, and Lockhart of Carnwath, with other persons suspected of disaffection to the present government, were committed prisoners to the castle of Edinburgh; and major-general Whetham marched with the regular troops which were in that kingdom to secure the bridge at Stirling. Before these precautions were taken, two vessels had arrived at Arbroath from Havre, with arms, ammunition, and a great number of officers, who assured the earl of Mar that the pretender would soon be with them in person: the death of Louis XIV. struck a general damp on their spirits; but they laid their account with being joined by a powerful body in England: the earl of Mar by letters and messages pressed the chevalier to come over without farther delay: he, in the mean time, assumed the title of lieutenant-general of the pretender's forces, and published a declaration, exhorting the people to take arms for their lawful sovereign: this was

followed by a shrewd manifesto, explaining the national grievances, and assuring the people of redress. Some of his partisans attempted to surprise the castle of Edinburgh, but were prevented by the vigilance and activity of colonel Stuart, lieutenant-governor of that fortress: the duke of Argyle set out for Scotland, as commander in chief of the forces in North Britain: the earl of Sutherland set sail in the Queenborough ship of war for the North, where he proposed to raise his vassals for the service of government; and many other Scottish peers returned to their own country, in order to signalise their loyalty to king George.

23. In England the practices of the Jacobites did not escape the notice of the ministry: lieutenant-colonel Paul was imprisoned in the gate-house for enlisting men in the service of the pretender; the titular duke of Powis was committed to the Tower; lords Lansdown and Duplin were taken into custody; and a warrant was issued for apprehending the earl of Jersey: the king desired the consent of the lower house to seize and detain Sir William Wyndham, Sir John Packington, Mr. Edward Harvey of Combe, Mr. Thomas Forster, Mr. John Anstis, and Mr. Corbet Kynaston, who were members of the house, and suspected of favoring the invasion: the commons unanimously agreed to the proposal, and presented an address, signifying their approbation: Harvey and Anstis were immediately secured; Forster, with the assistance of some popish lords, assembled a body of men in Northumberland; Sir John Packington, being examined before the council, was dismissed for want of evidence; Mr. Kynaston absconded; Sir William Wyndham was seized at his own house in Somersetshire by colonel Huske and a messenger, who secured his papers: he found means, however, to escape from them; but afterwards surrendered himself, and, having been examined at the council-board, was committed to the Tower: his father-in-law, the duke of Somerset, offered to become bound for his appearance; and being rejected as bail, expressed his resentment so warmly, that the king thought proper to remove him from the office of master of the horse. On the twenty-first of September, the king went to the house of lords, and passed the bills that were ready for the royal assent: then the chancellor read his majesty's speech expressing his acknowledgement and satisfaction, in consequence of the uncommon marks of their affection he had received; and the parliament adjourned to the sixth of October.

24. The friends of the house of Stuart were very numerous in the western counties, and began to make preparations for an insurrection: they had concealed some arms and artillery at Bath, and formed a design to surprise Bristol; but they were betrayed and discovered by the emissaries of the government, which baffled all their schemes, and apprehended every person of consequence suspected of attachment to that cause: the university of Oxford felt the rod of power on this occasion: major-general Pepper, with a strong detachment of dragoons, took possession of the city at day-break, declaring he would use military execution on all students who should presume to appear without the limits of their respective colleges: he seized ten or eleven persons, among whom was one Lloyd, a coffee-man; and made prize of some horses and furniture belonging to colonel Owen and other gentlemen: with this booty he retreated to Abingdon; and Handasyde's regiment of foot was afterwards quartered in Oxford, to overawe the university. The ministry found it more difficult to suppress the insurgents in the northern counties: in the month of October the earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster took the field with a body of horse; and being joined by some gentlemen from the borders of Scotland, proclaimed the pretender in Warkworth, Morpeth, and Alnwick: their first design was to seize the town of Newcastle, in which they had many friends; but they found the gates shut on them, and retired to Hexham; while general Carpenter, having assembled a body of dragoons, resolved to march from Newcastle, and attack them before they should be reinforced: the rebels, retiring northward to Wooller, were joined by 200 Scottish horse under the lord viscount Kenmuir, and the earls of Carnwath and Wintoun, who had set up the pretender's standard at Moffat, and proclaimed him in different parts of Scotland: the rebels thus reinforced advanced to Kelso, having received advice that they would be joined by Mackintosh, who had crossed the Forth with a body of highlanders.

25. By this time the earl of Mar was at the head of 10,000 men well armed: he had secured the pass of the Tay at Perth, where his head-quarters were established, and made himself master of the whole fruitful province of Fife, and all the sea-coast on that side of the Frith at Edinburgh: he selected 2500 men, commanded by brigadier Mackintosh, to make a descent on the Lothian side, and join the Jacobites in that county, or such as should take arms on the borders

of England: boats were assembled for this purpose; and notwithstanding all the precautions that could be taken by the king's ships in the Frith, to prevent the design, above 1500 chosen men made good their passage in the night, and landed on the coast of Lothian; having crossed an arm of the sea about sixteen miles broad, in open boats, that passed through the midst of the king's cruisers. Nothing could be better concerted, or executed with more conduct and courage, than was this hazardous enterprise: they amused the king's ships with marches and countermarches along the coast in such a manner, that they could not possibly know where they intended to embark: the earl of Mar, in the mean time, marched from Perth to Dumblane, as if he had intended to cross the Forth at Stirling-bridge; but his real design was to divert the duke of Argyle from attacking his detachment which had landed in Lothian. So far the scheme succeeded: the duke, who had assembled some troops in Lothian, returned to Stirling with the utmost expedition, after having secured Edinburgh, and obliged Mackintosh to abandon his design on that city: this partisan had actually taken possession of Leith, from whence he retired to Seaton-house, near Preston-Pans, which he fortified in such a manner that he could not be forced without artillery: here he remained until he received an order across the frith from the earl of Mar, to join lord Kenmuir and the English at Kelso, for which place he immediately began his march, and reached it on the twenty-second of October, though a good number of his men had deserted on the route.

26. The lord Kenmuir, with the earls of Wintoun, Nithsdale, and Carnwath, the earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster, with the English insurgents, arriving at the same time, a council of war was immediately called: Wintoun proposed that they should march immediately into the western parts of Scotland and join general Gordon, who commanded a strong body of highlanders in Argyleshire: the English insisted on crossing the Tweed, and attacking general Carpenter, whose troops did not exceed 900 dragoons: neither scheme was executed: they took the route to Jedburgh, where they resolved to leave Carpenter on one side, and penetrate into England by the western border: the highlanders declared they would not quit their own country; but were ready to execute the scheme proposed by the earl of Wintoun: means, however, were found to prevail on one

half of them to advance, while the rest returned to the highlands. At Brampton, Forster opened his commission of general, which had been sent to him from the earl of Mar, and proclaimed the pretender: they continued their march to Penrith, where the sheriff, assisted by lord Lonsdale and the bishop of Carlisle, had assembled the whole *posse comitatensis* of Cumberland, amounting to 12,000 men, who dispersed with the utmost precipitation at the approach of the rebels: from Penrith, Forster proceeded by the way of Kendal and Lancaster to Preston, from whence Stanhope's regiment of dragoons and another of militia immediately retired; so that he took possession of the place without resistance. General Willis marched against the enemy with six regiments of horse and dragoons, and one battalion of foot commanded by colonel Preston: they had advanced to the bridge of Ribble before Forster received intelligence of their approach: he forthwith began to raise barricados, and put the place in a posture of defence: on the twelfth of November, the town was briskly attacked in two different places; but the king's troops met with a very warm reception, and were repulsed with considerable loss: next day general Carpenter arrived with a reinforcement of three regiments of dragoons, and the rebels were invested on all sides: the highlanders declared they would make a sally sword in hand, and either cut their way through the king's troops, or perish in the attempt; but they were over-ruled: Forster sent colonel Oxburgh with a trumpet to general Willis, to propose a capitulation: he was given to understand that the general would not treat with rebels; but in case of their surrendering at discretion, he would prevent his soldiers from putting them to the sword until he should receive farther orders: he granted them time to consider till next morning, on their delivering the earl of Derwentwater and Mackintosh as hostages: when Forster submitted, this highlander declared he could not promise the Scots would surrender in that manner: the general desired him to return to his people, and he would forthwith attack the town, in which case every man of them should be cut to pieces: the Scottish noblemen did not choose to run the risk, and persuaded the highlanders to accept the terms that were offered: they accordingly laid down their arms, and were put under a strong guard: all the noblemen and leaders were secured: major Nairn, captain Lockhart, captain Shaftoe, and ensign Erskine were tried by a court-martial as deserters, and

executed: lord Charles Murray, son of the duke of Athol, was likewise condemned for the same crime, but reprieved: the common men were imprisoned at Chester and Liverpool, the noblemen and considerable officers were sent to London, conveyed through the streets pinioned like malefactors, and committed to the Tower and to Newgate.

27. The day on which the rebels surrendered at Preston was remarkable for the battle of Dumblane, fought between the duke of Argyle and the earl of Mar, who commanded the pretender's forces. This nobleman had retreated to his camp at Perth, when he understood the duke was returned from Lothian to Stirling: but being now joined by the northern clans under the earl of Seaforth, and those of the west commanded by general Gordon, who had signalised himself in the service of the czar of Muscovy, he resolved to pass the Forth, in order to join his southern friends, that they might march together into England: with this view he advanced to Auchterarder, where he reviewed his army, and rested on the eleventh of November: the duke of Argyle, apprised of his intention, and being joined by some regiments of dragoons from Ireland, determined to give him battle in the neighborhood of Dumblane. On the twelfth of the month, Argyle passed the Forth at Stirling, and encamped with his left at the village of Dumblane, and his right towards Sheriff-muir: the earl of Mar advanced within two miles of his camp, and remained till daybreak in order of battle; his army consisting of 9000 effective men, cavalry as well as infantry: in the morning, the duke, understanding they were in motion, drew up his forces, which did not exceed 3500 men, on the heights to the north-east of Dumblane; but he was outflanked both on the right and left: the clans that formed part of the centre and right wing of the enemy, with Glengary and Clanronald at their head, charged the left of the king's army sword in hand with such impetuosity, that in seven minutes both horse and foot were totally routed with great slaughter; and general Whetham, who commanded them, fled at full gallop to Stirling, where he declared that the royal army was totally defeated. In the mean time, the duke of Argyle, who commanded in person on the right, attacked the left of the enemy, at the head of Stair's and Evans's dragoons, and drove them two miles before him, as far as the water of Allan; yet in that space they wheeled about, and attempted to rally ten times; so that he was obliged to press them hard, that they might

not recover from their confusion: brigadier Wightman followed, in order to sustain him with three battalions of infantry; while the victorious right wing of the rebels, having pursued Whetham a considerable way, returned to the field, and formed in the rear of Wightman, to the amount of 5000 men. The duke of Argyle, returning from the pursuit, joined Wightman, who had faced about, and taken possession of some enclosures and mud-walls, in expectation of being attacked: in this posture both armies fronted each other till the evening, when the duke drew off towards Dumblane, and the rebels retired to Ardoch, without mutual molestation: next day, the duke marching back to the field of battle, carried off the wounded, with four pieces of cannon left by the enemy, and retreated to Stirling: few prisoners were taken on either side; the number of the slain might be about 500 of each army, and both generals claimed the victory. This battle was not so fatal to the highlanders as the loss of Inverness, from which Sir John Mackenzie was driven by Simon Frazer, lord Lovat, who, contrary to the principles he had hitherto professed, secured this important post for the government; by which means a free communication was opened with the north of Scotland, where the earl of Sutherland had raised a considerable body of vassals: the marquis of Huntley and the earl of Seaforth were obliged to quit the rebel army in order to defend their own territories, and in a little time submitted to king George; a good number of the Frazers declared with their chief against the pretender; the marquis of Tullibardine withdrew from the army, to cover his own country; and the clans, seeing no likelihood of another action, began to disperse, according to custom.

28. The government was now in a condition to send strong reinforcements to Scotland: 6000 men, that were claimed of the States-General by virtue of the treaty, landed in England, and began their march for Edinburgh: general Cadogan set out for the same place, together with brigadier Petit, and six other engineers; and a train of artillery was shipped at the Tower for that country, the duke of Argyle resolving to drive the earl of Mar out of Perth, to which town he had retired with the remains of his forces. The pretender, having been amused with the hope of seeing the whole kingdom of England rise up as one man in his behalf; and the duke of Ormond having made a fruitless voyage to the western coast, to try the disposition of the people; he

was now convinced of the vanity of his expectation in that quarter; and, as he knew not what other course to take, he resolved to hazard his person among his friends in Scotland, at a time when his affairs in that kingdom were absolutely desperate: from Bretagne he posted through part of France in disguise; and, embarking in a small vessel at Dunkirk, hired for that purpose, arrived on the twenty-second of December at Peterhead with six gentlemen in his retinue, one of whom was the marquis of Teignmouth, son to the duke of Berwick: he passed through Aberdeen incognito to Fetter-ross, where he was met by the earls of Mar and Marischal, and about thirty noblemen and gentlemen of the first quality: here he was solemnly proclaimed; his declaration, dated at Commercy, was printed and circulated through all the parts in that neighborhood; and he received addresses from the episcopal clergy, and the laity of that community in the diocese of Aberdeen: on the fifth of January, he made his public entry into Dundee; and on the seventh arrived at Scone, where he seemed determined to stay until the ceremony of his coronation should be performed: from thence he made an excursion to Perth, where he reviewed his forces: then he formed a regular council, and published six proclamations; one for a general thanksgiving, on account of his safe arrival; another enjoining the ministers to pray for him in churches; a third establishing the currency of foreign coins; a fourth summoning the meeting of the convention of estates; a fifth ordering all sensible men to repair to his standard; and a sixth fixing the twenty-third of January for his coronation. He made a pathetic speech in a grand council, at which all the chiefs of his party assisted: they determined however to abandon the enterprise, as the king's army was reinforced by the Dutch auxiliaries; and they themselves were not only reduced to a small number, but likewise destitute of money, arms, ammunition, forage, and provision; for the duke of Argyle had taken possession of Burnt-island, and transported a detachment to Fife, so as to cut off Mar's communication with that fertile country.

29. Notwithstanding the severity of the weather, and a prodigious fall of snow, which rendered the roads almost impassable, the duke, on the twenty-ninth of January, began his march to Dumblane, and next day reached Tullibardine, where he received intelligence that the pretender and his forces had, on the preceding day, retired towards Dundee: he forthwith took possession of Perth, and

then began his march to Aberbrothwick in pursuit of the enemy. The chevalier de St. George, being thus hotly pursued, was prevailed on to embark on board a small French ship that lay in the harbor of Montrose: he was accompanied by the earls of Mar and Melfort, lord Drummond, lieutenant-general Bulkley, and other persons of distinction, to the number of seventeen: in order to avoid the English cruisers, they stretched over to Norway; and, coasting along the German and Dutch shores, arrived in five days at Gravelines. General Gordon, whom the pretender had left commander in chief of the forces, assisted by the earl-marshal, proceeded with them to Aberdeen, where he secured three vessels to sail northward, and take on board the persons who intended to make their escape to the continent: then they continued their march through Strathspey and Strathdown, to the hills of Badenoch, where the common people were quietly dismissed: this retreat was made with such expedition, that the duke of Argyle, with all his activity, could never overtake their rear-guard, which consisted of 1000 horse, commanded by the earl-marshal. Such was the issue of a rebellion, that proved fatal to many noble families; a rebellion, which, in all probability, would never have happened, had not the violent measures of a whig ministry kindled such a flame of discontent in the nation, as encouraged the partisans of the pretender to hazard a revolt.

30. The parliament of Ireland, which met at Dublin on the twelfth of November, seemed even more zealous, if possible, than that of England, for the present administration: they passed bills for recognising the king's title, for the security of his person and government, for setting a price on the pretender's head, and for attainting the duke of Ormond: they granted the supplies without opposition: all those who had addressed the late queen in favor of Sir Constantine Phipps, then lord chancellor of Ireland, were now brought on their knees, and censured as guilty of a breach of privilege: they desired the lords justices would issue a proclamation against the popish inhabitants of Limerick and Galway, who, presuming on the capitulation signed by king William, claimed an exemption from the penalties imposed on other papists: they engaged in an association against the pretender and all his abettors: they voted the earl of Anglesea an enemy to the king and kingdom, because he advised the queen to break the army, and prorogue



... back to Sherbroothwick in pursuit of the



THE FISHING BOAT.

the late parliament; and they addressed the king to remove him from his council and service. The lords justices granted orders for apprehending the earls of Antrim and Westmeath, the lords Natterville, Cahir, and Dillon, as persons suspected of disaffection to the government: then they adjourned the two houses.

31. The king, in his speech to the English parliament, which met on the ninth of January, told them he had reason to believe the pretender was landed in Scotland: he congratulated them on the success of his arms in suppressing the rebellion; on the conclusion of the barrier-treaty between the emperor and the States-General, under his guarantee; on a convention with Spain that would deliver the trade of England to that kingdom from the new impositions and hardships to which it was subjected in consequence of the late treaties: he likewise gave them to understand, that a treaty for renewing all former alliances between the crown of Great Britain and the States-General was almost concluded; and he assured the commons he would freely give up all the estates that should become forfeited to the crown by this rebellion, to be applied towards defraying the extraordinary expense incurred on this occasion. The commons, in their address of thanks, declared that they would prosecute in the most vigorous and impartial manner the authors of those destructive councils which had drawn down such miseries on the nation: their resolutions were speedy, and exactly conformable to this declaration: they expelled Mr. Forster from the house; they forthwith impeached the earls of Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Carnwath, and Wintoun; lords Widdrington, Kenmuir, and Nairn: these noblemen, being brought to the bar of the house of lords, heard the articles of impeachment read on the tenth of January, and were ordered to put in their answers on the sixteenth: the impeachments being lodged, the lower house ordered a bill to be brought in for continuing the suspension of the habeas-corpus act; then they prepared another to attain the marquis of Tullibardine, the earls of Mar and Linlithgow, and lord John Drummond. On the twenty-first of January, the king gave the royal assent to the bill for continuing the suspension of the habeas-corpus act: he told the parliament that the pretender was actually in Scotland, heading the rebellion, and assuming the style and title of king of these realms; he demanded of the commons such supply as might discourage any foreign power

from assisting the rebels: on Thursday, the nineteenth of January, all the impeached lords pleaded guilty to the articles exhibited against them, except the earl of Wintoun, who petitioned for a longer time on various pretences: the rest received sentence of death on the ninth of February, in the court erected in Westminster-hall, where the lord chancellor Cowper presided as lord high-steward on that occasion. The countess of Nithsdale and lady Nairn threw themselves at the king's feet, as he passed through the apartments of the palace, and implored his mercy in behalf of their husbands; but their tears and entreaties produced no effect: the council resolved that the sentence should be executed, and orders were given for that purpose to the lieutenant of the Tower, and the sheriffs of London and Middlesex.

32. The countess of Derwentwater, with her sister, accompanied by the duchesses of Cleveland and Bolton, and several other ladies of the first distinction, was introduced by the dukes of Richmond and St. Albans into the king's bed-chamber, where she invoked his majesty's clemency for her unfortunate consort: she afterwards repaired to the lobby of the house of peers, attended by the ladies of the other condemned lords, and above twenty others of the same quality, and begged the intercession of the house; but no regard was paid to their petition: next day, they petitioned both houses of parliament: the commons rejected their suit: in the upper house, the duke of Richmond delivered a petition from the earl of Derwentwater, to whom he was nearly related, at the same time declaring that he himself should oppose his solicitation: the earl of Derby expressed some compassion for the numerous family of lord Nairn: petitions from the rest were presented by other lords, moved with pity and humanity: lord Townshend and others vehemently opposed their being read: the earl of Nottingham thought this indulgence might be granted; the house assented to his opinion, and agreed to an address, praying his majesty would relieve such of the condemned lords as should seem to deserve his mercy: to this petition the king answered, that on this and all other occasions, he would do what he thought most consistent with the dignity of his crown and the safety of his people. The earl of Nottingham, president of the council; his brother, the earl of Aylesbury, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster; his son, lord Finch, one of the lords of the treasury; his kinsman, lord Guernsey, master of

the jewel-office, were altogether dismissed from his majesty's service: orders were despatched for executing the earls of Derwentwater and Nithsdale, and the viscount Kenmuir, immediately; the others were respited to the seventh of March: Nithsdale made his escape in woman's apparel, furnished and conveyed to him by his own mother. On the twenty-fourth of February, Derwentwater and Kenmuir were beheaded on Tower-hill: the former was an amiable youth, brave, open, generous, hospitable, and humane: his fate drew tears from the spectators, and was a great misfortune to the country in which he lived: he gave bread to multitudes of people whom he employed on his estate; the poor, the widow, and the orphan rejoiced in his bounty. Kenmuir was a virtuous nobleman, calm, sensible, resolute, and resigned: he was a devout member of the English church; but the other died in the faith of Rome: both adhered to their political principles. On the fifteenth of March, Wintoun was brought to trial, and being convicted received sentence of death!¹¹

33. When the king passed the land-tax-bill [1716.], which was ushered in with a very extraordinary preamble, he informed both houses of the pretender's flight from Scotland. In the beginning of April, a commission for trying the rebels met in the court of common-pleas, when bills of high-treason were found against Mr. Forster, Mackintosh, and twenty of their confederates: Forster escaped from Newgate, and reached the continent in safety; the rest pleaded not guilty, and were indulged with time to prepare for their trials: the judges, appointed to try the rebels at Liverpool, found a considerable number guilty of high-treason: two and twenty were executed at Preston and Manchester; about 1000 prisoners submitted to the king's mercy, and petitioned for transportation. Pitts, the keeper of Newgate, being suspected of having connived at Forster's escape, was tried for his life at the Old-Bailey, and acquitted: notwithstanding this prosecution, which ought to have redoubled the vigilance of the jailers, brigadier Mackintosh and several other prisoners broke from Newgate, after having mastered the keeper and turnkey, and disarmed the sentinel. The court proceeded with the trials of those that remained; and a great number were found guilty: four

¹¹ Annals. Bolingbroke. Patten. Debates in Parliament. Tindal. State Trials.

or five were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn; and among these was one William Paul, a clergyman, who, in his last speech, professed himself a true and sincere member of the church of England, but not of the revolution schismatical church, whose bishops had abandoned the king, and shamefully given up their ecclesiastical rights, by submitting to the unlawful, invalid, lay deprivations authorised by the prince of Orange.

34. Though the rebellion was extinguished, the flame of national dissatisfaction still continued to rage; the severities exercised against the rebels increased the general discontent; for now the danger was blown over their humane passions began to prevail: the courage and fortitude with which the condemned persons encountered the pains of death in its most dreadful form, prepossessed many spectators in favor of the cause by which those unhappy victims were animated: in a word, persecution, as usual, extended the heresy. The ministry, perceiving this universal disaffection, and dreading the revolution of a new parliament, which might wrest the power from their faction, and retort on them the violence of their own measures, formed a resolution equally odious and effectual to establish their administration: this was no other than a scheme to repeal the triennial act, and by a new law to extend the term of parliaments to seven years. On the tenth of April, the duke of Devonshire represented, in the house of lords, that triennial elections served to keep up party divisions; to raise and foment feuds in private families; to produce ruinous expenses, and give occasion to the cabals and intrigues of foreign princes; that it became the wisdom of such an august assembly to apply proper remedies to an evil that might be attended with the most dangerous consequences, especially in the present temper of the nation, as the spirit of rebellion still remained unconquered: he therefore proposed a bill for enlarging the continuance of parliaments: he was seconded by the earls of Dorset and Rockingham, the duke of Argyle, lord Townshend, and the other chiefs of that party. The motion was opposed by the earls of Nottingham, Abingdon, and Paulet: they observed, that frequent parliaments were required by the fundamental constitution of the kingdom, ascertained in the practice of many ages; that the members of the lower house were chosen by the body of the nation for a certain term of years, at the expiration of which they could be no longer representatives of the people, who, by the

parliament's protracting its own authority, would be deprived of the only remedy which they have against those, who through ignorance or corruption betrayed the trust reposed in them; that the reasons in favor of such a bill were weak and frivolous; that, with respect to foreign alliances, no prince or state could reasonably depend on a people to defend their liberties and interests, who should be thought to have given up so great a part of their own; nor would it be prudent in them to wish for a change in that constitution under which Europe had of late been so powerfully supported; on the contrary, they might be deterred from entering into any engagements with Great Britain, when informed by the preamble of the bill, that the popish faction was so dangerous as to threaten destruction to the government: they would apprehend that the administration was so weak as to want so extraordinary a provision for its safety; that the gentlemen of Britain were not to be trusted; and that the good affections of the people were restrained within the limits of the house of commons: they affirmed that this bill, far from preventing the expense of elections, would rather increase it, and encourage every species of corruption; for the value of a seat would always be in proportion to the duration of a parliament, and the purchase would rise accordingly; that a long parliament would yield a greater temptation, as well as a better opportunity to a vicious ministry, to corrupt the members, than they could possibly have when the parliaments were short and frequent; that the same reasons urged for passing the bill to continue this parliament for seven years would be at least as strong, and, by the conduct of the ministry, might be made much stronger before the end of that term, for continuing, and even perpetuating their legislative power, to the absolute subversion of the third estate of the realm. These arguments served only to form a decent debate, after which the bill for septennial parliaments passed by a great majority, though twenty peers entered a protest: it met with the same fate in the lower house, where many strong objections were stated to no purpose: they were represented as the effects of party spleen; and, indeed, this was the great spring of action on both sides: the question for the bill was carried in the affirmative, and in a little time it received the royal sanction.

35. The rebellion being utterly quelled, and all the suspected persons of consequence detained in safe custody, the king re-

solved to visit his German dominions, where he foresaw a storm gathering from the quarter of Sweden : Charles XII. was extremely exasperated against the elector of Hanover for having entered into the confederacy against him in his absence, particularly for his having purchased the duchies of Bremen and Verden, which constituted part of his dominions ; and he breathed nothing but revenge against the king of Great Britain : it was with a view to avert this danger, or prepare against it, that the king now determined on a voyage to the continent : but as he was restricted from leaving his British dominions by the act for the farther limitation of the crown, this clause was repealed in a new bill that passed through both houses without the least difficulty. On the twenty-sixth of June, the king closed the session with a speech on the usual topics, in which however he observed, that the numerous instances of mercy he had shown served only to encourage the faction of the pretender, whose partisans acted with such insolence and folly, as if they intended to convince the world that they were not to be reclaimed by gentle methods : he intimated his purpose of visiting his dominions in Germany ; and gave them to understand, that he had constituted his beloved son, the prince of Wales, guardian of the kingdom in his absence. About this period, general Macartney, who had returned to England at the accession of king George, presented himself to trial for the murder of the duke of Hamilton : the deposition of colonel Hamilton was contradicted by two park-keepers ; the general was acquitted of the charge, restored to his rank in the army, and gratified with the command of a regiment : the king's brother, prince Ernest, bishop of Osnaburg, was created duke of York and Albany, and earl of Ulster : the duke of Argyle, and his brother the earl of Ilay, to whom his majesty owed, in a great measure, his peaceable accession to the throne, as well as the extinction of the rebellion in Scotland, were now dismissed from all their employments : general Carpenter succeeded the duke in the chief command of the forces in North Britain, and in the government of Port Mahon ; and the duke of Montrose was appointed lord-register of Scotland in the room of the earl of Ilay.

36. On the seventh of July, the king embarked at Gravesend, landed on the ninth in Holland, through which he passed incognito to Hanover, and from thence set out for Pymont : his aim was to secure his German dominions from the Swede, and Great Britain from the pretender : these two

princes had already begun to form a design in conjunction of invading his kingdom. He knew the duke of Orleans was resolved to ascend the throne of France, in case the young king, who was a sickly child, should die without male issue: the regent was not ignorant that Philip of Spain would powerfully contest that succession, notwithstanding his renunciation; and he was glad of an opportunity to strengthen his interest by an alliance with the maritime powers of England and Holland: the king of England sounded him on this subject, and found him eager to engage in such an association: the negotiation was carried on by general Cadogan for England, the abbé Dubois for France, and the pensionary Heinsius for the States-General. The regent readily complied with all their demands: he engaged that the pretender should immediately depart from Avignon to the other side of the Alps, and never return to Lorraine or France on any pretence whatsoever; that no rebellious subjects of Great Britain should be allowed to reside in that kingdom; and that the treaty of Utrecht, with respect to the demolition of Dunkirk, should be fully executed to the satisfaction of his Britannic majesty: the treaty contained a mutual guarantee of all the places possessed by the contracting powers; of the protestant succession on the throne of England, as well as that of the duke of Orleans to the crown of France; and a defensive alliance, stipulating the proportion of ships and forces to be furnished to that power which should be disturbed at home or invaded from abroad. The English people murmured at this treaty: they said an unnecessary umbrage was given to Spain, with which the nation had great commercial connexions; and that, on pretence of an invasion, a body of foreign troops might be introduced to enslave the kingdom.

37. His majesty was not so successful in his endeavors to appease the king of Sweden, who refused to listen to any overtures until Bremen and Verden should be restored; these the elector of Hanover resolved to keep as a fair purchase; and he engaged in a confederacy with the enemies of Charles, for the maintenance of this acquisition: meanwhile his rupture with Sweden was extremely prejudicial to the commerce of England, and had well nigh entailed on the kingdom another invasion, much more formidable than that which had so lately miscarried: the ministers of Sweden resident at London, Paris, and the Hague, maintained a correspondence with the disaffected subjects of Great Britain:

a scheme was formed for the Swedish king's landing on this island with a considerable body of forces, where he should be joined by the malcontents of the united kingdom : Charles relished the enterprise, which flattered his ambition and revenge ; nor was it disagreeable to the czar of Muscovy, who resented the elector's offer of joining the Swede against the Russians, provided he would ratify the cession of Bremen and Verden. King George, having received intimation of these intrigues, returned to England towards the end of January, and ordered a detachment of foot-guards to secure count Gyllenburg, the Swedish minister, with all his papers : at the same time, Sir Jacob Bancks and Mr. Charles Cæsar were apprehended : the other foreign ministers took the alarm, and remonstrated to the ministry on this outrage committed against the law of nations : the two secretaries, Stanhope and Methuen, wrote circular letters to them, assuring them that in a day or two they should be acquainted with the reasons that induced the king to take such an extraordinary step : they were generally satisfied with this intimation ; but the marquis de Monteleone, ambassador from Spain, expressed his concern that no other way could be found to preserve the peace of the kingdom, without arresting the person of a public minister, and seizing all his papers, which were the sacred repositories of his master's secrets : he observed, that in whatever manner these two facts might seem to be understood, they very sensibly wounded the law of nations. About the same time, baron Gortz, the Swedish residentiary in Holland, was seized with his papers at Arnheim, at the desire of king George, communicated to the States by Mr. Leathes, his minister at the Hague : the baron owned he had projected the invasion, a design that was justified by the conduct of king George, who had joined the princes in confederacy against the king of Sweden, without having received the least provocation ; who had assisted the king of Denmark in subduing the duchies of Bremen and Verden, and then purchased them of the usurper ; and who had, in the course of this very summer, sent a strong squadron of ships to the Baltic, where it joined the Danes and Russians against the Swedish fleet.

38. When the parliament of Great Britain met on the twentieth of February, the king informed them of the triple alliance he had concluded with France and Holland : he mentioned the projected invasion ; told them he had given

orders for laying before them copies of the letters which had passed between the Swedish ministers on that subject; and he demanded of the commons such supplies as should be found necessary for the defence of the kingdom: by those papers it appeared that the scheme projected by baron Gortz was very plausible, and even ripe for execution; which, however, was postponed until the army should be reduced, and the Dutch auxiliaries sent back to their own country. The letters being read in parliament, both houses presented addresses, in which they extolled the king's prudence in establishing such conventions with foreign potentates as might repair the gross defects, and prevent the pernicious consequences of the treaty of Utrecht, which they termed a treacherous and dishonorable peace; and they expressed their horror and indignation at the malice and ingratitude of those who had encouraged an invasion of their country: he likewise received an address of the same kind from the convention, another from the dissenting ministers, a third from the university of Cambridge; but Oxford was not so lavish of her compliments: at a meeting of the vice-chancellor and heads of that university, a motion was made for an address to the king, on the suppression of the late unnatural rebellion, his majesty's safe return, and the favor lately shown to the university, in omitting, at their request, the ceremony of burning in effigy the devil, the pope, the pretender, the duke of Ormond, and the earl of Mar, on the anniversary of his majesty's accession: Dr. Smalridge, bishop of Bristol, observed that the rebellion had been long suppressed; that there would be no end of addresses, should one be presented every time his majesty returned from his German dominions; that the late favor they had received was overbalanced by a whole regiment now quartered on them; and that there was no precedent for addressing a king on his return from his German dominions: the university thought they had reason to complain of the little regard paid to their remonstrance, touching a riot raised in that city by the soldiers there quartered, on pretence that the anniversary of the prince's birthday had not been celebrated with the usual rejoicings: affidavits had been sent up to the council, which seemed to favor the officers of the regiment. When the house of lords deliberated on the mutiny-bill, by which the soldiers were exempted from arrests for debts, complaint was made of their licentious behavior at Oxford; and a motion was made that they should inquire into the

riot: the lords presented an address to the king, desiring that the papers relating to that affair might be laid before the house: these being perused, were found to be recriminations between the Oxonians and the officers of the regiment: a warm debate ensued, during which the earl of Abingdon offered a petition from the vice-chancellor of the university, the mayor and magistrates of Oxford, praying to be heard: one of the court members observing that it would be irregular to receive a petition while the house was in a grand committee, a motion was made that the chairman should leave the chair; but this being carried in the negative, the debate was resumed, and the majority agreed to the following resolutions: that the heads of the university and mayor of the city neglected to make public rejoicings on the prince's birthday; that the officers having met to celebrate that day, the house in which they had assembled was assaulted, and the windows were broken by the rabble; that this assault was the beginning and occasion of the riots that ensued; that the conduct of the mayor seemed well justified by the affidavits produced on his part; that the printing and publishing the depositions, on which the complaints relating to the riots at Oxford were founded, while that matter was under the examination of the lords of the committee of the council, before they had time to come to any resolution touching the same, was irregular, disrespectful to his royal highness, and tending to sedition.¹² An inquiry of this nature, so managed, did not much redound to the honor of such an august assembly.

39. The commons passed a bill [1717.], prohibiting all commerce with Sweden, a branch of trade which was of the utmost consequence to the English merchants: they voted 10,000 seamen for the ensuing year; granted about £1,000,000 for the maintenance of guards, garrisons, and land forces; and passed the bill relating to mutiny and desertion: the house likewise voted £24,000 for the payment of four battalions of Munster and two of Saxe-Gotha, which the king had taken into his service, to supply the place of such as might be, during the rebellion, drawn from the garrisons of the States-General to the assistance of England: this vote however was not carried without a violent debate: the demand was inveighed against as an imposition, seeing no troops

¹² Annals. State Trials. Debates in Parliament. Tindal. Voltaire.

had ever served. A motion was made for an address, desiring that the instructions of those who concluded the treaties might be laid before the house; but this was over-ruled by the majority: ¹³ the supplies were raised by a land-tax of three shillings in the pound, and a malt-tax. What the commons had given was not thought sufficient for the expense of the year; therefore Mr. secretary Stanhope brought a message from his majesty, demanding an extraordinary supply, that he might be the better enabled to secure his kingdoms against the danger with which they were threatened from Sweden; and he moved that a supply should be granted to his majesty for this purpose: Mr. Shippen observed it was a great misfortune that the king was as little acquainted with the parliamentary proceedings as with the language of the country; that the message was unparliamentary and unprecedented, and, in his opinion, penned by some foreign minister: he said he had been often told that his majesty had retrieved the honor and reputation of the nation, a truth which appeared in the flourishing condition of trade; but that the supply demanded seemed to be inconsistent with the glorious advantages which his majesty had obtained for the people: he was seconded by Mr. Hungerford, who declared that for his part he could not understand what occasion there was for new alliances, much less that they should be purchased with money: he expressed his surprise that a nation so lately the terror of France and Spain should now seem to fear so inconsiderable an enemy as the king of Sweden: the motion was supported by Mr. Boscawen, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, and others; but some of the whigs spoke against it, and Mr. Robert Walpole was silent: the speaker, and Mr. Smith, one of the tellers of the exchequer, opposed this unparliamentary way of demanding the supply: the former proposed that part of the army should be disbanded, and the money applied towards the making good such new engagements as were deemed necessary. After several suc-

¹³ This year was rendered famous by a complete victory which prince Eugene obtained over the Turks at Peterwaradin on the Danube: the battle was fought on the fifth of August: the imperial army did not exceed 60,000 men; that of the infidels amounted to 150,000, commanded by the grand visir, who was mortally wounded in the engagement: the infidels were totally defeated, with the loss of all their tents, artillery, and baggage; so that the victors obtained an immense booty.

cessive debates, the resolution for a supply was carried by a majority of four voices.

40. The ministry was now divided within itself: lord Townshend had been removed from the office of secretary of state by the intrigues of the earl of Sunderland; and he was now likewise dismissed from the place of lord-lieutenant of Ireland: Mr. Robert Walpole resigned his posts of first commissioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer: his example was followed by Mr. Pulteney, secretary at war; and Mr. Methuen, secretary of state. When the affair of the supply was resumed in the house of commons, Mr. Stanhope made a motion for granting £250,000 for that purpose. Mr. Pulteney observed, that having resigned his place, he might now act with the freedom becoming an Englishman: he declared against the manner of granting the supply as unparliamentary and unprecedented: he said he could not persuade himself that any Englishman advised his majesty to send such a message; but he doubted not the resolution of a British parliament would make a German ministry tremble. Mr. Stanhope having harangued the house in vindication of the ministry, Mr. Smith answered every article of his speech: he affirmed that if an estimate of the conduct of the ministry in relation to affairs abroad was to be made from a comparison of their conduct at home, they would not appear altogether so faultless as they were represented. 'Was it not a mistake,' said he, 'not to preserve the peace at home, after the king had ascended the throne with the universal applause and joyful acclamations of all his subjects? Was it not a mistake, on the breaking out of the rebellion, not to issue a proclamation, to offer pardon to such as should return home peaceably, according to the custom on former occasions of the same nature? Was it not a mistake, after the suppression of the rebellion, and the trial and the execution of the principal authors of it, to keep up animosities, and drive people to despair, by not passing an act of indemnity, by keeping so many persons under hard and tedious confinement, and by granting pardons to some, without leaving them any means to subsist? Is it not a mistake, not to trust a vote of parliament for making good such engagements as his majesty should think proper to enter into; and, instead of that, to insist on the granting this supply in such an extraordinary manner? Is it not a mistake to take this opportunity to

create divisions, and render some of the king's best friends suspected and obnoxious? Is it not a mistake, in short, to form parties and cabals, in order to bring in a bill to repeal the act of occasional conformity?' A great number of members had agreed to this measure in private, though at this period it was not brought into the house of commons: after a long debate, the sum was granted. These were the first-fruits of Britain's being wedded to the interests of the continent: the elector of Hanover quarreled with the king of Sweden; and England was not only deprived of a necessary branch of commerce, but even obliged to support him in the prosecution of the war. The ministry now underwent a new revolution: the earl of Sunderland and Mr. Addison were appointed secretaries of state; Mr. Stanhope became first commissioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer.

41. On the sixth of May, the king, going to the house of peers, gave the parliament to understand, that the fleet under Sir George Byng, which had sailed to the Baltic to observe the motions of the Swedes, was safely arrived in the Sound: he said he had given orders for the immediate reduction of 10,000 soldiers, as well as directions to prepare an act of indemnity: he desired they would take proper measures for reducing the public debts, with a just regard to parliamentary credit; and that they would go through the public business with all possible despatch and unanimity. Some progress had already been made in deliberations on the debt of the nation, which was comprehended under the two heads of redeemable and irredeemable encumbrances: the first had been contracted with a redeemable interest, and these the public had a right to discharge; the others consisted of long and short annuities granted for a greater or less number of years, which could not be altered without the consent of the proprietors. Mr. Robert Walpole had projected a scheme for lessening the interest, and paying the capital of those debts, before he resigned his place in the exchequer: he proposed, in the house of commons, to reduce the interest of redeemable funds, and offer an alternative to the proprietors of annuities: his plan was approved; but, when he resigned his places, the ministers made some small alterations in it, which furnished him with a pretence for opposing the execution of the scheme: in the course of the debate, some warm altercation passed between him and Mr. Stanhope, by which it appeared, they had made a practice of selling places and reversions: Mr. Hunger-

ford, standing up, said he was sorry to see two such great men running foul of one another; that, however, they ought to be looked on as patriots and fathers of their country; and since they had by mischance discovered their nakedness, the other members ought, according to the custom of the East, to turn their backs on them, that they might not be seen in such a shameful condition. Mr. Boscawen moved that the house would lay their commands on them, that no farther notice should be taken of what had passed: he was seconded by Mr. Methuen; the house approved of the motion; and the speaker took their word and honor that they should not prosecute their resentment. The money-corporations having agreed to provide cash for such creditors as should be willing to receive their principal, the house came to certain resolutions, on which were founded the three bills that passed into laws, under the names of the South-Sea act, the Bank act, and the general fund act. The original stock of the South-Sea company did not exceed £9,471,325; but the funds granted being sufficient to answer the interest of £10,000,000 at six per cent. the company made up that sum to the government, for which they received £600,000 yearly, and £8000 a year for management: by this act they declared themselves willing to receive £500,000, and the £8000 for management. It was enacted, that the company should continue a corporation until the redemption of their annuity, towards which not less than £1,000,000 should be paid at a time: they were likewise required to advance a sum not exceeding £2,000,000, towards discharging the principal and interest due on the four lottery-funds of the ninth and tenth years of queen Anne. By the Bank act the governors and company declared themselves willing to accept an annuity of £88,751. 7s. 10½d., or the principal of £1,775,027. 17s. 10½d., in lieu of the present annuity, amounting to £106,501. 13s. 5d.: they likewise declared themselves willing to discharge, and deliver up to be cancelled, as many exchequer-bills as amounted to £2,000,000 and to accept of an annuity of £100,000, being after the rate of five per cent. redeemable after one year's notice; to circulate the remaining exchequer-bills at three per cent. and one penny per day: it was enacted, that the former allowances should be continued to Christmas, and then the bank should have for circulating the £2,561,025 remaining exchequer-bills, an annuity of £76,830. 15s.; at the rate of three pounds per cent. till redeemed, over and above the one penny a day for

interest: by the same act the bank was required to advance a sum not exceeding £2,500,000, towards discharging the national debt, if wanted, on condition that they should have five per cent. for as much as they might advance, redeemable by parliament. The general fund act recited the several acts of parliament for establishing the four lotteries in the ninth and tenth years of the late queen, and stated the annual produce of the several funds, amounting in all to £724,849. 6s. 10½d. This was the general fund, the deficiency of which was to be made good annually out of the first aids granted by parliament. For the regular payment of all such annuities as should be made payable by this act, it was enacted, that all the duties and revenues mentioned therein should continue for ever, with the proviso, however, that the revenues rendered by this act perpetual should be subject to redemption. This act contained a clause by which the sinking fund was established. The reduction of interest to five per cent. producing a surplus or excess on the appropriated funds, it was enacted, that all the moneys arising from time to time, as well for the surplus, by virtue of the acts for redeeming the funds of the bank and of the South-Sea company, as also for the surplus of the duties and revenues by this act appropriated to make good the general fund, should be appropriated and employed for the discharging of the principal and interest of such national debt as was incurred before the twenty-fifth of December of the preceding year, in such manner as should be directed and appointed by any future act of parliament, to be discharged out of the same, and for no other use, intent, or purpose whatsoever.

42. The earl of Oxford, who had now remained almost two years a prisoner in the Tower, presented a petition to the house of lords, praying that his imprisonment might not be indefinite: some of the tory lords affirmed that the impeachment was destroyed and determined by the prorogation of parliament, which superseded the whole proceedings; but the contrary was voted by a considerable majority: the thirteenth of June was fixed for the trial, and the house of commons made acquainted with this determination: the commons appointed a committee to inquire into the state of the earl's impeachment; and, in consequence of their report, sent a message to the lords, demanding longer time to prepare for trial: accordingly, the day was prolonged to the twenty-fourth of June; and the commons

appointed the committee, with four other members, to be managers for making good the articles of impeachment. At the appointed time, the peers repaired to the court in Westminster-hall, where lord Cowper presided as lord steward: the commons were assembled as a committee of the whole house; the king, the rest of the royal family, and the foreign ministers assisted at the solemnity: the earl of Oxford was brought from the Tower, the articles of impeachment were read, with his answers, and the replication of the commons. Sir Joseph Jekyl standing up to make good the first article, lord Harcourt signified to their lordships that he had a motion to make, and they adjourned to their own house: there he represented that a great deal of time would be unnecessarily consumed in going through all the articles of the impeachment; that if the commons would make good the two articles for high-treason, the earl of Oxford would forfeit both life and estate, and there would be an end of the matter; whereas, to proceed on the method proposed by the commons, would draw the trial on to a prodigious length; he therefore moved that the commons might not be permitted to proceed, until judgment should be first given on the articles of high-treason: he was supported by the earls of Anglesea and Nottingham, the lord Trevor, and a considerable number of both parties; and though opposed by the earl of Sunderland, the lords Coningsby and Parker, the motion was carried in the affirmative. It produced a dispute between the two houses: the commons, at a conference, delivered a paper, containing their reasons for asserting it as their undoubted right to impeach a peer either for treason or for high crimes and misdemeanors; or, should they see occasion, to mix both in the same accusation: the house of lords insisted on their former resolution, and in another conference delivered a paper, wherein they asserted it to be a right inherent in every court of justice to order and direct such methods of proceedings as it should think fit to be observed in all causes that fall under its cognisance: the commons demanded a free conference, which was refused: the dispute grew more and more warm: the lords sent a message to the lower house, importing that they intended presently to proceed on the trial of the earl of Oxford: the commons paid no regard to this intimation, but adjourned to the third of July: the lords, repairing to Westminster-hall, took their places, ordered the earl to be brought to the bar, and made pro-

clamation for his accusers to appear : having waited a quarter of an hour, they adjourned to their own house, where, after some debate, the earl was acquitted on a division : then, returning to the hall, they voted that he should be set at liberty. Oxford owed his safety to the dissensions among the ministers, and to the late change in the administration : in consequence of this, he was delivered from the persecution of Walpole, and numbered among his friends the dukes of Devonshire and Argyle, the earls of Nottingham and Ilay, and lord Townshend : the commons, in order to express their sense of his merit, presented an address to the king, desiring he might be excepted out of the intended act of grace : the king promised to comply with their request, and in the mean time forbade the earl to appear at court. On the fifteenth of July the earl of Sunderland delivered in the house of peers the act of grace, which passed through both houses with great expedition : from this indulgence were excepted the earl of Oxford, Mr. Prior, Mr. Thomas Harley, Mr. Arthur Moore ; Crisp, Nodes, O'Bryan, Redmarne the printer, and Thompson ; as also the assassins in Newgate, and the clan of Macgregor in Scotland : by virtue of this act, the earl of Carnwath, the lords Widdrington and Nairn were immediately discharged ; together with all the gentlemen under sentence of death in Newgate, and those that were confined on account of the rebellion in the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and other prisons of the kingdom. The act of grace being prepared for the royal assent, the king went to the house of peers on the fifteenth of July, and having given his sanction to all the bills that were ready, closed the session with a speech on the usual topics.

43. The proceedings in the convocation turned chiefly on two performances of Dr. Hoadley, bishop of Bangor : one was entitled, ' A preservative against the principles and practices of the nonjurors ; ' the other was a sermon preached before the king, under the title of ' The nature of the kingdom of Christ. ' An answer to this discourse was published by Dr. Snape, master of Eton-college, and the convocation appointed a committee to examine the bishop's two performances : they drew up a representation, in which the Preservative and the sermon were censured, as tending to subvert all government and discipline in the church of Christ, to reduce his kingdom to a state of anarchy and confusion, to impugn and impeach the royal supremacy in

causes ecclesiastical, and the authority of the legislature to enforce obedience in matters of religion by civil sanctions : the government thought proper to put a stop to these proceedings by a prorogation, which, however, inflamed the controversy : a great number of pens were drawn against the bishop ; but his chief antagonists were Dr. Snape and Dr. Sherlock, whom the king removed from the office of his chaplains ; and the convocation has not been permitted to sit and do business since that period.

CHAP. XIII.

GEORGE I. (CONTINUED.)—1717.

1. Difference between king George and the czar of Muscovy—
2. The king of Sweden is killed at Frederickstadt—3. Negotiation for the quadruple alliance—4. Proceedings in parliament—
5. James Shepherd executed for a design against the king's life. Parliament prorogued—6. Nature of the quadruple alliance—7. Admiral Byng sails to the Mediterranean—8. He destroys the Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro—9. Remonstrances of the Spanish ministry—10. Disputes in parliament touching the admiral's attacking the Spanish fleet—11. Act for strengthening the protestant interest—12. War declared against Spain—13. Conspiracy against the regent of France—14. Intended invasion by the duke of Ormond—15. Three hundred Spaniards land and are taken in Scotland—16. Account of the peerage-bill—17. Count Merci assumes the command of the imperial army in Sicily—18. Activity of admiral Byng—19. The Spanish troops evacuate Sicily—20. Philip obliged to accede to the quadruple alliance—
21. Bill for securing the dependence of Ireland on the crown of Great Britain—22. South-Sea act—23. Charters granted to the Royal and London assurance offices—24. Treaty of alliance with Sweden—25. The prince of Hesse elected king of Sweden—26. Effects of the South-Sea scheme—27. The bubble breaks—28. A secret committee appointed by the house of commons—29. Inquiry carried on by both houses—30. Death of earl Stanhope and Mr. Craggs, both secretaries of state—31. The estates of the directors of the South-Sea company are confiscated—32. Proceedings of the commons with respect to the stock of the South-Sea company.

1. DURING these transactions, the negotiations of the north were continued against the king of Sweden, who had penetrated into Norway, and advanced towards Christianstadt, the capital of that kingdom: the czar had sent 25,000 Russians to assist the allies in the reduction of Wismar, which he intended to bestow on his niece, lately married to the duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin; but, before his troops arrived, the place had surrendered, and the Russians were not admitted into the garrison; a circumstance which increased the misunderstanding between him and the king of Great Britain: nevertheless, he consented to a project for making a descent on Schonen, and actually took on him the

command of the allied fleet; though he was not at all pleased to see Sir John Norris in the Baltic, because he had formed designs against Denmark, which he knew the English squadron would protect: he suddenly desisted from the expedition against Schonen, on pretence that the season was too far advanced; and the king of Denmark published a manifesto, remonstrating against his conduct on this occasion. By this time baron Gortz had planned a pacification between his master and the czar, who was discontented with all his German allies, because they opposed his having any footing in the empire: this monarch arrived at Amsterdam in December, whither he was followed by the czarina; and he actually resided at the Hague when king George passed through it, in returning to his British dominions; but he declined an interview with the king of England. When Gyllenburg's letters were published in London, some passages seemed to favor the supposition of the czar's being privy to the conspiracy: his minister at the English court presented a long memorial, complaining that the king had caused to be printed the malicious insinuations of his enemies: he denied his having the least concern in the design of the Swedish king: he charged the court of England with having privately treated of a separate peace with Charles, and even with having promised to assist him against the czar, on condition that he would relinquish his pretensions to Bremen and Verden: nevertheless he expressed an inclination to re-establish the ancient good understanding, and to engage in vigorous measures for prosecuting the war against the common enemy. The memorial was answered by the king of Great Britain, who assured the czar he should have reason to be fully satisfied, if he would remove the only obstacle to their mutual good understanding; in other words, withdraw the Russian troops from the empire: notwithstanding these professions, the two monarchs were never perfectly reconciled.

2. The czar made an excursion to the court of France, where he concluded a treaty of friendship with the regent, at whose earnest desire he promised to recall his troops from Mecklenburg: at his return to Amsterdam, he had a private interview with Gortz, who, as well as Gyllenburg, had been set at liberty: Gortz undertook to adjust all differences between the czar and the king of Sweden within three months; and Peter engaged to suspend all operations against Sweden until that term should be expired. A con-

gress was opened at Abo between the Swedish and Russian ministers, but the conferences were afterwards removed to Åland: by this convention, the czar obliged himself to assist Charles in the conquest of Norway; and they promised to unite all their forces against the king of Great Britain, should he presume to interpose: both were incensed against that prince; and one part of their design was to raise the pretender to the throne of England. Baron Gortz set out from Åland for Frederickstadt in Norway, with the plan of peace; but before he arrived, Charles was killed by a cannon-ball from the town, as he visited the trenches, on the thirtieth of November: baron Gortz was immediately arrested, and brought to the scaffold by the nobles of Sweden, whose hatred he had incurred by his insolence of behavior. The death of Charles was fortunate for king George: Sweden was now obliged to submit; while the czar, the king of Denmark, and the elector of Hanover kept possession of what they had acquired in the course of the war.

3. Thus Bremen and Verden were secured to the house of Hanover; an acquisition towards which the English nation contributed by her money as well as by her arms; an acquisition made in contradiction to the engagements into which England entered when king William became guarantee for the treaty of Travendahl; an acquisition that may be considered as the first link of a political chain by which the English nation was dragged back into expensive connexions with the continent. The king had not yet received the investiture of the duchies; and, until that should be procured, it was necessary to espouse with warmth the interest of the emperor: this was another source of misunderstanding between Great Britain and Spain. Prince Eugene gained another complete victory over a prodigious army of the Turks at Belgrade, which was surrendered to him after the battle: the emperor had engaged in this war as an ally of the Venetians, whom the Turks had attacked, and driven from the Morea: the pope considered it as a religious war against the infidels, and obtained repeated assurances from the king of Spain that he would not undertake any thing against the emperor while he was engaged in such a laudable quarrel: Philip had even sent a squadron of ships and galleys to the assistance of the Venetians: in the course of this year, however, he equipped a strong armament, the command of which was bestowed on the marquis de Lede, who

sailed from Barcelona in July, and landing at Cagliari in Sardinia, which belonged to the emperor, made a conquest of the whole island: at the same time, the king of Spain endeavored to justify these proceedings by a manifesto, in which he alleged that the archduke, contrary to the faith of treaties, encouraged and supported the rebellion of his subjects in Catalonia by frequent succors from Naples and other places, and that the great inquisitor of Spain had been seized, though furnished with a passport from his holiness: he promised, however, to proceed no farther, and suspend all operations, that the powers of Europe might have time and opportunity to contrive expedients for reconciling all differences, and securing the peace and balance of power in Italy: nay, he consented that this important affair should be left to the arbitration of king George and the States-General. These powers undertook the office: conferences were begun between the ministers of the emperor, France, England, and Holland; and these produced, in the course of the following year, the famous quadruple alliance: in this treaty it was stipulated, that the emperor should renounce all pretensions to the crown of Spain, and exchange Sardinia for Sicily with the duke of Savoy; that the succession to the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, which the queen of Spain claimed by inheritance, as princess of the house of Farnese, should be settled on her eldest son, in case the present possessors should die without male issue. Philip, dissatisfied with this partition, continued to make formidable preparations by sea and land: the king of England and the regent of France interposed their admonitions to no purpose: at length, his Britannic majesty had recourse to more substantial arguments, and ordered a strong squadron to be equipped with all possible expedition.¹⁴

¹⁴ The pretender, who resided at Urbino, having received intelligence from Paris that there was a design formed against his life, pope Clement XI. gave directions that all foreigners in that neighborhood, especially English, should be arrested: the earl of Peterborough, arriving at Bologna with a few armed followers, was seized, with all his papers: being interrogated, he said he came to pass some time in Italy, for the benefit of the air: he was close confined for a whole month in Fort Urbino, and his attendants were sent to prison: nothing appearing to justify the suspicion, he was dismissed with uncommon civility. The king demanding reparation for this insult, the pope wrote with his own hand a letter to an ally of Great Britain, declaring that the legate of Bologna had violently and unjustly, without the knowledge of

4. On the third of November the princess of Wales was delivered of a prince, the ceremony of whose baptism was productive of a difference between the grandfather and the father: the prince of Wales intended that his uncle, the duke of York, should stand godfather; the king ordered the duke of Newcastle to stand for himself. After the ceremony, the prince expressed his resentment against this nobleman in very warm terms: the king ordered the prince to confine himself within his own apartments, and afterwards signified his pleasure that he should quit the palace of St. James: he retired with the princess to a house belonging to the earl of Grantham; but the children were detained at the palace: all peers and peeresses, and all privy-counsellors and their wives, were given to understand, that in case they visited the prince and princess, they should have no access to his majesty's presence; and all who enjoyed posts and places under both king and prince were obliged to quit the service of one or other, at their option. When the parliament met on the twenty-first of November, the king, in his speech, told both houses that he had reduced the army to very near one half since the beginning of the last session: he expressed his desire that all those who were friends to the present happy establishment might unanimously concur in some proper method for the greater strengthening the protestant interest, of which as the church of England was unquestionably the main support and bulwark, so would she reap the principal benefit of every advantage accruing from the union and mutual charity of all protestants. After the addresses of thanks, which were couched in the usual style, the commons proceeded to take into consideration the estimates and accounts, in order to settle the establishment of the army, navy, and ordnance: 10,000 men were voted for the sea-service: when the supply for the army fell under deliberation, a very warm debate ensued on the number of troops necessary to be maintained: Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, and Mr. Walpole, in a long, elaborate harangue, insisted on its being reduced to 12,000: they were answered by Mr. Craggs, secretary at war, and Sir David Dalrymple. Mr.

his holiness, caused the earl of Peterborough to be seized on suspicions which proved to be ill-grounded: the cardinal legate sent a declaration to the English admiral in the Mediterranean, that he had asked forgiveness of his holiness, and now begged pardon of his Britannic majesty, for having unadvisedly arrested a peer of Great Britain on his travels.

Shippen, in the course of the debate, said the second paragraph in the king's speech seemed rather to be calculated for the meridian of Germany than for Great Britain; and it was a great misfortune that the king was a stranger to our language and constitution: Mr. Lechmere affirmed this was a scandalous invective against the king's person and government, and moved that he who uttered it should be sent to the Tower: Mr. Shippen, refusing to retract or excuse what he had said, was voted to the Tower by a great majority; and the number of standing forces was fixed at 16,374 effective men.

5. On account of the great scarcity of silver coin, occasioned by the exportation of silver and the importation of gold, a motion was made to put a stop to this growing evil by lowering the value of gold specie: the commons examined a representation which had been made to the treasury by Sir Isaac Newton, master of the mint, on this subject: Mr. Caswell explained the nature of a clandestine trade carried on by the Dutch and Hamburgers, in concert with the Jews of England and other traders, for exporting the silver coin and importing gold, which being coined at the mint, yielded a profit of fifteen pence on every guinea. The house, in an address to the king, desired that a proclamation might be issued, forbidding all persons to utter or receive guineas at a higher rate than one-and-twenty shillings each: his majesty complied with that request; but people hoarding up their silver, in hopes that the price of it would be raised, or in apprehension that the gold would be lowered still farther, the two houses resolved that the standard of the gold and silver coins of the kingdom should not be altered in fineness, weight, or denomination; and they ordered a bill to be brought in, to prevent the melting down of the silver coin. At this period, one James Shepherd, a youth of eighteen, apprentice to a coachmaker, and an enthusiast in Jacobitism, sent a letter to a nonjuring clergyman, proposing a scheme for assassinating king George: he was immediately apprehended, owned the design, was tried, condemned, and executed at Tyburn: this was likewise the fate of the marquis de Pallcotti, an Italian nobleman, brother to the duchess of Shrewsbury: he had, in a transport of passion, killed his own servant; and seemed indeed to be disordered in his brain: after he had received sentence of death, the king's pardon was earnestly solicited by his sister, the duchess, and many other persons

of the first distinction ; but the common people became so clamorous, that it was thought dangerous to rescue him from the penalties of the law, which he accordingly underwent in the most ignominious manner. No subject produced so much heat and altercation in parliament during this session, as did the bill for regulating the land forces, and punishing mutiny and desertion ;—a bill which was looked on as an encroachment on the liberties and constitution of England, inasmuch as it established martial law, which wrested from the civil magistrate the cognisance of crimes and misdemeanors committed by the soldiers and officers of the army : a jurisdiction inconsistent with the genius and disposition of the people : the dangers that might accrue from such a power were explained in the lower house by Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Harley, and Mr. Robert Walpole, which last however voted afterwards for the bill : in the house of lords it was strenuously opposed by the earls of Oxford, Strafford, and lord Harcourt : their objections were answered by lord Carteret : the bill passed by a great majority ; but divers lords entered a protest. This affair being discussed, a bill was brought in for vesting in trustees the forfeited estates in Britain and Ireland, to be sold for the use of the public ; for giving relief to lawful creditors, by determining the claims ; and for the more effectual bringing into the respective exchequers the rents and profits of the estates till sold : the time of claiming was prolonged ; the sum of £20,000 was reserved out of the sale of the estates in Scotland, for erecting schools ; and £8000 for building barracks in that kingdom.¹⁵ The king having signified, by a message to the house of commons, that he had lately received such information from abroad, as gave reason to believe that a naval force, employed where it should be necessary, would give weight to his endeavors ; he therefore thought fit to acquaint the house with this circumstance, not doubting but that in case he should be obliged, at this critical juncture, to exceed the number of men granted this year for the sea-service, the house would provide for such exceeding : the commons immediately drew up and presented an address, assuring his majesty that they would make good such exceedings of seamen as he should find necessary to preserve the tranquillity

¹⁵ Oldmixon. Annals. Lamberty. Burchet. Historical Register. Tindal. State Trials. Debates in Parliament. Bolingbroke. Lives of the Admirals.

of Europe. On the twenty-first of March, the king went to the house of peers, and, having passed the bills that were ready for the royal assent, ordered the parliament to be prorogued.¹⁶

6. The king of Spain, by the care and indefatigable diligence of his prime minister, cardinal Alberoni, equipped a very formidable armament, which, in the beginning of June, [1718.] set sail from Barcelona towards Italy; but the destination of it was not known: a strong squadron having been fitted out in England, the marquis de Monteleone, ambassador from Spain, presented a memorial to the British ministry, importing that so powerful an armament in time of peace could not but give umbrage to the king his master, and alter the good intelligence that subsisted between the two crowns: in answer to this representation, the ministers declared that the king intended to send admiral Byng with a powerful squadron into the Mediterranean, to maintain the neutrality in Italy. Meanwhile, the negotiations between the English and French ministers produced the quadruple alliance, by which king George and the regent prescribed a peace between the emperor, the king of Spain, and the king of Sicily, and undertook to compel Philip and the Savoyard to submit to such conditions as they had concerted with his imperial majesty: these powers were allowed only three months to consider the articles, and declare whether they would reject them, or acquiesce in the partition. Nothing could be more contradictory to the true interest of Great Britain than this treaty, which destroyed the balance in Italy, by throwing such an accession of power into the hands of the house of Austria: it interrupted the commerce with Spain; involved the kingdom in an immediate war with that monarchy; and gave rise to all the quarrels and disputes which have arisen between England and Spain in the sequel: the States-General did not approve of such violent measures, and for some time kept aloof; but at length they acceded to the quadruple alliance, which indeed was no other than a very expensive compliment to the emperor, who was desirous of adding Sicily to his other Italian dominions.

¹⁶ Earl Cowper, lord chancellor, resigned the great seal, which was at first put in commission, but afterwards given to lord Parker, as high chancellor: the earl of Sunderland was made president of the council, and first commissioner of the treasury; lord Stanhope and Mr. Craggs were appointed secretaries of state: lord Stanhope and lord Cadogan were afterwards created earls.

7. The king of England had used some endeavors to compromise the difference between his imperial majesty and the Spanish branch of the house of Bourbon: lord Stanhope had been sent to Madrid with a plan of pacification, which being rejected by Philip as partial and iniquitous, the king determined to support his mediation by force of arms. Sir George Byng sailed from Spithead on the fourth of June, with twenty ships of the line, two fire-ships, two bomb-vessels, and ample instructions how to act on all emergences: he arrived off Cape St. Vincent on the thirtieth of the month, and despatched his secretary to Cadiz, with a letter to colonel Stanhope, the British minister at Madrid, desiring him to inform his most catholic majesty of the admiral's arrival in those parts, and lay before him this article of his instructions:—'you are to make instances with both parties to cease from using any farther acts of hostility; but in case the Spaniards do still insist, with their ships of war and forces, to attack the kingdom of Naples, or other the territories of the emperor in Italy, or to land in any part of Italy, which can only be with a design to invade the emperor's dominions, against whom only they have declared war by invading Sardinia; or if they should endeavor to make themselves masters of the kingdom of Sicily, which must be with a design to invade the kingdom of Naples; in which case you are, with all your power, to hinder and obstruct the same. If it should so happen, that at your arrival, with our fleet under your command, in the Mediterranean, the Spaniards should already have landed any troops in Italy, in order to invade the emperor's territories, you shall endeavor amicably to dissuade them from persevering in such an attempt, and offer them your assistance to help them to withdraw their troops, and put an end to all farther acts of hostility: but in case these your friendly endeavors should prove ineffectual, you shall, by keeping company with, or intercepting their ships or convoy; or, if it be necessary, by openly opposing them, defend the emperor's territories from any farther attempt.' When cardinal Albéroni perused these instructions, he told colonel Stanhope, with some warmth, that his master would run all hazards, and even suffer himself to be driven out of Spain, rather than recall his troops, or consent to a suspension of arms: he said the Spaniards were not to be frightened: and he was so well convinced that the fleet would do their duty, that in case of their being attacked by admiral Byng, he

should be in no pain for the success: Mr. Stanhope presenting him with a list of the British squadron, he threw it on the ground with great emotion: he promised however to lay the admiral's letter before the king, and to let the envoy know his majesty's resolution. Such an interposition could not but be very provoking to the Spanish minister, who had laid his account with the conquest of Sicily, and for that purpose prepared an armament which was altogether surprising, considering the late shattered condition of the Spanish affairs: but he seems to have put too much confidence in the strength of the Spanish fleet: in a few days he sent back the admiral's letter to Mr. Stanhope, with a note under it, importing, that the chevalier Byng might execute the orders he had received from the king his master.

8. The admiral, in passing by Gibraltar, was joined by vice-admiral Cornwall with two ships: he proceeded to Minorca, where he relieved the garrison of Port Mahon: then he sailed for Naples, where he arrived on the first of August, and was received as a deliverer; for the Neopolitans had been under the utmost terror of an invasion from the Spaniards. Sir George Byng received intelligence from the viceroy, count Daun, who treated him with the most distinguishing marks of respect, that the Spanish army, amounting to 30,000 men, commanded by the marquis de Lede, had landed in Sicily, reduced Palermo and Messina, and were then employed in the siege of the citadel belonging to this last city; that the Piedmontese garrison would be obliged to surrender if not speedily relieved; that an alliance was on the carpet between the emperor and the king of Sicily, which last had desired the assistance of the imperial troops, and agreed to receive them into the citadel of Messina. The admiral immediately resolved to sail thither, and took under his convoy a reinforcement of 2000 Germans for the citadel, under the command of general Wetzel: he forthwith sailed from Naples, and on the ninth of August was in sight of the Faro of Messina: he despatched his own captain with a polite message to the marquis de Lede, proposing a cessation of arms in Sicily for two months, that the powers of Europe might have time to concert measures for restoring a lasting peace; and declaring, that should this proposal be rejected, he would, in pursuance of his instructions, use all his force to prevent farther attempts to disturb the dominions his master had engaged to defend: the Spanish general answered, that he had no power to

treat, and consequently could not agree to an armistice; but should obey his orders, which directed him to reduce Sicily for his master the king of Spain. The Spanish fleet had sailed from the harbor of Messina on the day before the English squadron appeared: admiral Byng supposed they had retired to Malta, and directed his course towards Messina, in order to encourage and support the garrison in the citadel: but, in doubling the point of Faro, he descried two Spanish scouts, and learned from the people of a felucca from the Calabrian shore, that they had seen from the hills the Spanish fleet lying to in order of battle: the admiral immediately detached the German troops to Reggio, under convoy of two ships of war: then he stood through the Faro after the Spanish scouts that led him to their main fleet, which before noon he descried in line of battle, amounting to seven and twenty sail large and small, besides two fire-ships, four bomb-vessels, and seven galleys: they were commanded in chief by don Antonio de Castanita, under whom were the four rear-admirals Chacon, Mari, Guevara, and Cammock: at sight of the English squadron, they stood away large, and Byng gave chase all the rest of the day: in the morning, which was the eleventh of August, rear-admiral de Mari, with six ships of war, the galleys, fire-ships, and bomb-ketches, separated from the main fleet, and stood in for the Sicilian shore: the English admiral detached captain Walton with five ships in pursuit of them, and they were soon engaged: he himself continued to chase their main fleet; and about ten o'clock the battle began: the Spaniards seemed to be distracted in their councils, and acted in confusion: they made a running fight; yet the admirals behaved with courage and activity, in spite of which they were all taken, except Cammock, who made his escape with three ships of war and three frigates. In this engagement, which happened off Cape Passaro, captain Had-dock, of the Grafton, signalised his courage in an extraordinary manner: on the eighteenth the admiral received a letter from captain Walton, dated off Syracuse, intimating that he had taken four Spanish ships of war, together with a bomb-ketch, and a vessel laden with arms; and that he had burned four ships of the line, a fire-ship, and a bomb-vessel.¹⁷ Had the Spaniards followed the advice of rear-

¹⁷ This letter is justly deemed a curious specimen of the laconic style:—'Sir,—We have taken and destroyed all the Spanish ships

admiral Cammock, who was a native of Ireland, Sir George Byng would not have obtained such an easy victory: that officer proposed that they should remain at anchor in the road of Paradise, with their broadsides to the sea; in which case the English admiral would have found it a very difficult task to attack them; for the coast is so bold, that the largest ships could ride with a cable ashore; whereas farther out the currents are so various and rapid, that the English squadron could not have come to anchor, or lie near them in order of battle: besides, the Spaniards might have been reinforced from the army on shore, which would have raised batteries to annoy the assailants. Before king George had received an account of this engagement from the admiral, he wrote him a letter with his own hand, approving his conduct: when Sir George's eldest son arrived in England with a circumstantial account of the action, he was graciously received, and sent back with plenipotentiary powers to his father, that he might negotiate with the several princes and states of Italy as he should see occasion: the son likewise carried the king's royal grant to the officers and seamen of all the prizes they had taken from the Spaniards. Notwithstanding this victory, the Spanish army carried on the siege of the citadel of Messina with such vigor, that the governor surrendered the place by capitulation on the twenty-ninth of September. A treaty was now concluded at Vienna between the emperor and the duke of Savoy: they agreed to form an army for the conquest of Sardinia in behalf of the duke; and in the mean time this prince engaged to evacuate Sicily; but until his troops could be conveyed from that island, he consented that they should co-operate with the Germans against the common enemy. Admiral Byng continued to assist the imperialists in Sicily during the best part of the winter, by scouring the seas of the Spaniards, and keeping the communication open between the German forces and the Calabrian shore, from whence they were supplied with provisions: he acted in this service with equal conduct, resolution, and activity; he conferred with the viceroy of Naples and the other imperial generals about the operations of the ensuing campaign; and count Hamilton was despatched to Vienna, to lay before the emperor the result of their de-

and vessels which were on the coast; the number as per margin. I am, &c.

‘G. WALTON.’

liberations : then the admiral set sail for Mahon, where the ships might be refitted, and put in a condition to take the sea in the spring.

9. The destruction of the Spanish fleet was a subject that employed the deliberations and conjectures of all the politicians in Europe : Spain exclaimed against the conduct of England, as inconsistent with the rules of good faith, for the observation of which she had always been so famous : the marquis de Monteleone wrote a letter to Mr. secretary Craggs, in which he expostulated with him on such an unprecedented outrage : cardinal Alberoni, in a letter to that minister, inveighed against it as a base, unworthy action : he said the neutrality of Italy was a weak pretence, since every body knew that neutrality had long been at an end, and that the prince's guarantees of the treaty of Utrecht were intirely discharged from their engagements, not only by the scandalous infringements committed by the Austrians in the evacuation of Catalonia and Majorca, but also because the guarantee was no longer binding than till a peace was concluded with France : he taxed the British ministry with having revived and supported this neutrality, not by an amicable mediation, but by open violence, and artfully abusing the confidence and security of the Spaniards. This was the language of disappointed ambition : nevertheless, it must be owned, that the conduct of England, on this occasion, was irregular, partial, and precipitate.

10. The parliament meeting on the eleventh of November, the king, in his speech, declared that the court of Spain had rejected all his amicable proposals, and broke through their most solemn engagements for the security of the British commerce : to vindicate, therefore, the faith of his former treaties, as well as to maintain those he had lately made, and to protect and defend the trade of his subjects, which had in every branch been violently and unjustly oppressed, it became necessary for his naval forces to check their progress : that notwithstanding the success of his arms, that court had lately given orders at all the ports of Spain and of the West-Indies to fit out privateers against the English : he said he was persuaded, that a British parliament would enable him to resent such treatment ; and he assured them that his good brother, the regent of France, was ready to concur with him in the most vigorous measures. A strong opposition was made in both houses to the motion for an address of thanks and congratulation proposed by lord Car-

teret: several peers observed, that such an address was, in effect, to approve a sea-fight which might be attended with dangerous consequences, and to give the sanction of that august assembly to measures, which, on examination, might appear either to clash with the law of nations, or former treaties, or to be prejudicial to the trade of Great Britain: that they ought to proceed with the utmost caution and maturest deliberation, in an affair, wherein the honor as well as the interest of the nation were so highly concerned. Lord Strafford moved for an address, that Sir George Byng's instructions might be laid before the house: earl Stanhope replied, that there was no occasion for such an address, since by his majesty's command he had already laid before the house the treaties, of which the late sea-fight was a consequence; particularly the treaty for a defensive alliance between the emperor and his majesty, concluded at Westminster on the twenty-fifth of May, in the year 1716; and the treaty of alliance for restoring and settling the public peace, signed at London on the twenty-second of July: he affirmed that the court of Spain had violated the treaty of Utrecht and acted against the public faith, in attacking the emperor's dominions, while he was engaged in a war against the enemies of christendom; that they had rejected his majesty's friendly offices and offers for mediating an accommodation: he explained the cause of his own journey to Spain, and his negociations at Madrid: he added, it was high time to check the growth of the naval power of Spain, in order to protect and secure the trade of the British subjects which had been violently oppressed by the Spaniards: after a long debate, the motion was carried by a considerable majority. The same subject excited disputes of the same nature in the house of commons, where lord Hinchinbroke moved, that in their address of thanks they should declare their intire satisfaction in those measures which the king had already taken for strengthening the protestant succession, and establishing a lasting tranquillity in Europe: the members in the opposition urged that it was unparliamentary and unprecedented, on the first day of the session, to enter on particulars; that the business in question was of the highest importance, and deserved the most mature deliberation: that before they approved the measures which had been taken, they ought to examine the reasons on which those measures were founded. Mr. Robert Walpole affirmed, that the giving sanction, in the manner

proposed, to the late measures, could have no other view than that of screening ministers, who were conscious of having begun a war against Spain, and now wanted to make it the parliament's war: he observed, that instead of an intire satisfaction, they ought to express their intire dissatisfaction with such conduct as was contrary to the law of nations, and a breach of the most solemn treaties. Mr. secretary Craggs in a long speech explained the nature of the quadruple alliance, and justified all the measures which had been taken. The address, as moved by lord Hinchinbroke, was at length carried, and presented to his majesty: then the commons proceeded to consider the supply: they voted 13,500 sailors, and 12,435 men for the land-service: the whole estimate amounted to £2,257,581. 19s.: the money was raised by a land-tax, malt-tax, and lottery.

11. On the thirteenth of December, earl Stanhope declared, in the house of lords, that, in order to unite the hearts of the well-affected to the present establishment, he had a bill to offer under the title of 'an act for strengthening the protestant interest in these kingdoms:' it was accordingly read, and appeared to be a bill repealing the acts against occasional conformity, the growth of schism, and some clauses in the corporation and test acts: this had been concerted by the ministry, in private meetings with the most eminent dissenters. The tory lords were astonished at this motion, for which they were altogether unprepared; nevertheless they were strenuous in their opposition: they alleged that the bill, instead of strengthening, would certainly weaken the church of England, by plucking off her best feathers, investing her enemies with power, and sharing with churchmen the civil and military employments of which they were then wholly possessed. Earl Cowper declared himself against that part of the bill by which some clauses of the test and corporation acts were repealed; because he looked on those acts as the main bulwark of our excellent constitution in church and state, which ought to be inviolably preserved. The earl of Ilay opposed the bill, because, in his opinion, it infringed the *pacta conventa* of the treaty of union, by which the bounds both of the church of England and of the church of Scotland were fixed and settled; and he was apprehensive, if the articles of the union were broken with respect to one church, it might afterwards be a precedent to break them with respect to the other. The archbishop of Canterbury said the acts which by this bill would be repealed

were the main bulwark and supporters of the English church : he expressed all imaginable tenderness for well-meaning, conscientious dissenters ; but he could not forbear saying, some among that sect made a wrong use of the favor and indulgence shown to them at the revolution, though they had the least share in that happy event : it was therefore thought necessary for the legislature to interpose, and put a stop to the scandalous practice of occasional conformity : he added, that it would be needless to repeal the act against schism, since no advantage had been taken of it to the prejudice of the dissenters. Dr. Hoadley, bishop of Bangor, endeavored to prove that the occasional and schism acts were in effect persecuting laws ; and that by admitting the principle of self-defence and self-preservation in matters of religion, all the persecutions maintained by the heathens against the professors of christianity, and even the popish inquisition, might be justified : with respect to the power, of which many clergymen appeared so fond and so zealous ; he owned the desire of power and riches was natural to all men, but that he had learned both from reason and from the Gospel, that this desire must be kept within due bounds, and not intrench on the rights and liberties of their fellow-creatures and countrymen. After a long debate, the house agreed to leave out some clauses concerning the test and corporation acts ; then the bill was committed, and afterwards passed : in the lower house it met with violent opposition, in spite of which it was carried by the majority.

12. The king, on the seventeenth of December, sent a message to the commons, importing that all his endeavors to procure redress for the injuries done to his subjects by the king of Spain having proved ineffectual, he had found it necessary to declare war against that monarch. When a motion was made for an address, to assure the king they would cheerfully support him in the prosecution of the war, Mr. Shippen and some other members said they did not see the necessity of involving the nation in a war on account of some grievances of which the merchants complained, as these might be amicably redressed. Mr. Stanhope assured the house that he had presented five and twenty memorials to the ministry of Spain on that subject, without success. Mr. Methuen accounted for the dilatory proceedings of the Spanish court in commercial affairs, by explaining the great variety of regulations in the several provinces and ports of that kingdom : it was suggested, that the ministry paid very

little regard to the trade and interest of the nation ; inasmuch as it appeared, by the answer from a secretary of state to the letter of the marquis de Monteleone, that they would have overlooked the violation of the treaties of commerce, provided Spain had accepted the conditions stipulated in the quadruple alliance ; for it was there expressly said, that his majesty, the king of Great-Britain, did not seek to aggrandise himself by any new acquisitions, but was rather inclined to sacrifice something of his own to procure the general quiet and tranquillity of Europe. A member observed, that nobody could tell how far that sacrifice would have extended, but certainly it was a very uncommon stretch of condescension : this sacrifice was said to be the cession of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, which the regent of France had offered to the king of Spain, provided he would accede to the quadruple alliance. Horace Walpole observed, that the disposition of Sicily in favor of the emperor was an infraction of the treaty of Utrecht ; and his brother exclaimed against the injustice of attacking the Spanish fleet before a declaration of war. Notwithstanding all these arguments and objections, the majority agreed to the address ; and such another was carried in the upper house without a division : the declaration of war against Spain was published with the usual solemnities ; but this war was not a favorite of the people, and therefore did not produce those acclamations that were usual on such occasions.

13. Meanwhile cardinal Alberoni employed all his intrigues, power, and industry for the gratification of his revenge : he caused new ships to be built, the sea-ports to be put in a posture of defence, succors to be sent to Sicily, and the proper measures to be taken for the security of Sardinia : he, by means of the prince de Cellamare, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, caballed with the malcontents of that kingdom, who were numerous and powerful : a scheme was actually formed for seizing the regent, and securing the person of the king. The duke of Orleans owed the first intimation of this plot to king George, who gave him to understand that a conspiracy was formed against his person and government : the regent immediately took measures for watching the conduct of all suspected persons ; but the whole intrigue was discovered by accident : the prince de Cellamare entrusted his despatches to the abbé Portocarrero, and to a son of the marquis de Monteleone : these emissaries set out from Paris in a post-chaise, and were

overturned : the postilion overheard Portocarrero say he would not have lost his portmanteau for 100,000 pistoles : the man, at his return to Paris, gave notice to the government of what he had observed : the Spaniards, being pursued, were overtaken and seized at Poitiers with the portmanteau, in which the regent found two letters that made him acquainted with the particulars of the conspiracy : the prince de Cellamare was immediately conducted to the frontiers ; the duke of Maine, the marquis de Pompadour, the cardinal de Polignac, and many other persons of distinction were committed to different prisons : the regent declared war against Spain on the twenty-ninth of December, and an army of 36,000 men began its march towards that kingdom in January, under the command of the duke of Berwick.

14. Cardinal Alberoni had likewise formed a scheme in favor of the pretender : the duke of Ormond, repairing to Madrid, held conferences with his eminence ; and measures were concerted for exciting another insurrection in Great Britain : the chevalier de St. George quitted Urbino by stealth ; and, embarking at Netteno, landed at Cagliari in March : from thence he took his passage to Roses in Catalonia, and proceeded to Madrid, where he was received with great cordiality, and treated as king of Great Britain : an armament had been equipped of ten ships of war and transports, having on board 6000 regular troops, with arms for 12,000 men : the command of this fleet was bestowed on the duke of Ormond, with the title of captain-general of his most catholic majesty : he was provided with declarations in the name of that king, importing that for many good reasons he had sent part of his land and sea forces into England and Scotland, to act as auxiliaries to king James. His Britannic majesty, having received from the regent of France timely notice of this intended invasion, offered, by proclamation, rewards to those that should apprehend the duke of Ormond, or any gentleman embarked in that expedition : troops were ordered to assemble in the north and in the west of England ; 2000 men were demanded of the States-General ; a strong squadron was equipped to oppose the Spanish armament ; and the duke of Orleans made a proffer to king George of twenty battalions for his service.

15. His majesty having communicated to both houses of parliament the repeated advices he had received touching this projected descent, they promised to support him against

all his enemies : they desired he would augment his forces by sea and land, and assured him they would make good the extraordinary expense : 2000 men were landed from Holland, and six battalions of imperialists from the Austrian Netherlands. The duke of Ormond sailed from Cadiz, and proceeded as far as Cape Finisterre, where his fleet was dispersed and disabled by a violent storm, which intirely defeated the purposed expedition : two frigates however arrived in Scotland, with the earls Marischal and Seaforth, the marquis of Tullibardine, some field-officers, 300 Spaniards, and arms for 2000 men : they were joined by a small body of highlanders, and possessed themselves of Donan-castle : against these adventurers general Wightman marched with a body of regular troops from Inverness : they had taken possession of the pass at Glenshiel ; but, at the approach of the king's forces, retired to the pass at Stratchell, which they resolved to defend : they were attacked and driven from one eminence to another till night, when the highlanders dispersed ; and next day the Spaniards surrendered themselves prisoners of war : Marischal, Seaforth, and Tullibardine, with some officers, retired to one of the western isles, in order to wait an opportunity of being conveyed to the continent.

16. On the last of February the duke of Somerset represented in the house of lords that the number of peers being very much increased, especially since the union of the two kingdoms, it seemed absolutely necessary to take effectual measures for preventing the inconveniences that might attend the creation of a great number of peers to serve a present purpose ; an expedient which had been actually taken in the late reign : he therefore moved that a bill should be brought in, to settle and limit the peerage in such a manner, that the number of English peers should not be enlarged beyond six above the present number, which, on failure of male issue, might be supplied by new creations ; that instead of the sixteen elective peers from Scotland, twenty-five should be made hereditary on the part of that kingdom ; and that this number, on failure of the heirs male, should be supplied from the other members of the Scottish peerage : this bill was intended as a restraint on the prince of Wales, who happened to be at variance with the present ministry. The motion was supported by the duke of Argyle, now lord steward of the household, the earls of Sunderland and Carlisle : it was opposed by the earl of Oxford, who said, that

although he expected nothing from the crown, he would never give his vote for lopping off so valuable a branch of the prerogative, which enabled the king to reward merit and virtuous actions. The debate was adjourned to the second of March, when earl Stanhope delivered a message from the king, intimating, that as they had under consideration the state of the British peerage, he had so much at heart the settling it on such a foundation as might secure the freedom and constitution of parliaments in all future ages, that he was willing his prerogative should not stand in the way of so great and necessary a work. Another violent debate ensued between the two factions: the question here, as in almost every other dispute, was not whether the measure proposed was advantageous to the nation, but whether the tory or the whig interest should predominate in parliament. Earl Cowper affirmed, that the part of the bill relating to the Scottish peerage was a manifest violation of the treaty of union, as well as a flagrant piece of injustice; as it would deprive persons of their right, without being heard, and without any pretence or forfeiture on their part: he observed, that the Scottish peers excluded from the number of the twenty-five would be in a worse condition than any other subjects in the kingdom; for they would be neither electing nor elected, neither representing nor represented:¹⁶ these objections were over-ruled; several resolutions were taken agreeably to the motion; and the judges were ordered to prepare and bring in the bill: this measure alarmed the generality of Scottish peers, as well as many English commoners, who saw in the bill the avenues of dignity and title shut up against them; and they did not fail to exclaim against it, as an encroachment on the fundamental maxims of the constitution: treatises were written and published on both sides of the question; and a national clamor began to arise; when earl Stanhope observed, in the house, that as the bill had raised strange apprehensions, he thought it advisable to postpone the farther consideration of it till a more proper opportunity: it was accordingly dropped, and the parliament prorogued on the eighteenth of April, 1719, on which occasion his majesty told both houses that the Spanish king had acknowledged the pretender.

17. The king having appointed lords justices to rule the

¹⁶ Annals. Corbet. Tindal. Historical Register. Debates in Parliament. Lives of the Admirals.

kingdom in his absence, embarked in May for Holland, from whence he proceeded to Hanover, where he concluded a peace with Ulrica, the new queen of Sweden: by this treaty Sweden yielded for ever to the royal and electoral house of Brunswick the duchies of Bremen and Verden, with all their dependences: king George obliged himself to pay 1,000,000 rix-dollars to the queen of Sweden, and to renew, as king of Great Britain and elector of Hanover, the alliances formerly subsisting between his predecessors and that kingdom: he likewise mediated a peace between Sweden and his former allies, the Danes and Prussians, and the Poles: the czar however refused to give up his schemes of conquest: he sent his fleet to the Scheuron or Batses of Sweden, where his troops landing, to the number of 15,000, committed dreadful outrages; but Sir John Norris, who commanded an English squadron in those seas, having orders to support the negociations, and oppose any hostilities that might be committed, the czar, dreading the fate of the Spanish navy, thought proper to recall his fleet. In the Mediterranean, admiral Byng acted with unwearied vigor in assisting the imperialists to finish the conquest of Sicily: the court of Vienna had agreed to send a strong body of forces to finish the reduction of that island; and the command in this expedition was bestowed on the count de Merci, with whom Sir George Byng conferred at Naples: this admiral supplied them with ammunition and artillery from the Spanish prizes: he took the whole reinforcement under his convoy, and saw them safely landed in the bay of Patti, to the number of 3500 horse and 10,000 infantry. Count Merci, thinking himself more than a match for the Spanish forces commanded by the marquis de Lede, attacked him in a strong camp at Franca-Villa, and was repulsed with the loss of 5000 men, himself being dangerously wounded in the action: here his army must have perished for want of provision, had not they been supplied by the English navy.

18. Admiral Byng no sooner learned the bad success of the attack at Franca-Villa, than he embarked two battalions from the garrison of Melazzo, and about 1000 recruits, whom he sent under a convoy through the Faro to Schesobay, in order to reinforce the imperial army: he afterwards assisted at a council of war with the German generals, who, in consequence of his advice, undertook the siege of Mesina: then he repaired to Naples, where he proposed to

count Gallas, the new viceroy, that the troops destined for the conquest of Sardinia should be first landed in Sicily, and co-operate towards the conquest of that island: the proposal was immediately despatched to the court of Vienna: in the mean time, the admiral returned to Sicily, and assisted at the siege of Messina: the town surrendered; the garrison retired into the citadel; and the remains of the Spanish navy, which had escaped at Passaro, were now destroyed in the Mole. The emperor approved of the scheme proposed by the English admiral, to whom he wrote a very gracious letter, intimating that he had despatched orders to the governor of Milan to detach the troops designed for Sardinia to Vado, in order to be transported into Italy: the admiral charged himself with the performance of this service: having furnished the imperial army before Messina with another supply of cannon, powder, and shot on his own credit, he set sail for Vado, where he surmounted numberless difficulties started by the jealousy of count Bonneval, who was unwilling to see his troops, destined for Sardinia, now diverted to another expedition, in which he could not enjoy the chief command: at length, admiral Byng saw the forces embarked, and convoyed them to Messina, the citadel of which surrendered in a few days after their arrival. By this time the marquis de Lede had fortified a strong post at Castro-Giovanne, in the centre of the island, and cantoned his troops about Aderno, Palermo, and Catanea: the imperialists could not pretend to attack him in this situation, nor could they remain in the neighborhood of Messina, on account of the scarcity of provisions: they would therefore have been obliged to quit the island during the winter, had not the admiral undertaken to transport them by sea to Trapani, where they could extend themselves in a plentiful country: he not only executed this enterprise; but even supplied them with corn from Tunis, as the harvest of Sicily had been gathered into the Spanish magazines. It was the second of March before the last embarkation of the imperial troops were landed at Trapani.

19. The marquis de Lede immediately retired with his army to Alcamo, from whence he sent his mareschal de camp to count Merci and the English admiral, with overtures for evacuating Sicily: the proposals were not disagreeable to the Germans; but Sir George Byng declared that the Spaniards should not quit the island while the war continued, as he foresaw that these troops would be employed

against France or England: he agreed however with count Merci, in proposing, that if the marquis would surrender Palermo, and retire into the middle part of the island, they would consent to an armistice for six weeks, until the sentiments of their different courts should be known: the marquis offered to surrender Palermo, in consideration of a suspension of arms for three months; but, while this negociation was depending, he received advice from Madrid that a general peace was concluded; nevertheless he broke off the treaty, in obedience to a secret order for that purpose: the king of Spain hoped to obtain the restitution of St. Sebastian, Fontarabia, and other places taken in the course of the war, in exchange for the evacuation of Sicily. Hostilities were continued until the admiral received advice from the earl of Stair at Paris that the Spanish ambassador at the Hague had signed the quadruple alliance: by the same courier packets were delivered to the count de Merci and the marquis de Lede, which last gave the admiral and imperial general to understand that he looked on the peace as a thing concluded, and was ready to treat for a cessation of hostilities: they insisted on his delivering up Palermo; on the other hand, he urged, that as their masters were in treaty for settling the terms of evacuating Sicily and Sardinia, he did not think himself authorised to agree to a cessation, except on condition that each party should remain on the ground they occupied, and expect farther orders from their principals. After a fruitless interview between the three chiefs at the Cassine de Rossignola, the imperial general resolved to undertake the siege of Palermo: with this view he decamped from Alcamo on the eighteenth of April, and followed the marquis de Lede, who retreated before him, and took possession of the advantageous posts that commanded the passes into the plain of Palermo; but count Merci with indefatigable diligence marched over the mountains, while the admiral coasted along shore, attending the motions of the army: the Spanish general, perceiving the Germans advancing into the plain, retired under the cannon of Palermo, and fortified his camp with strong intrenchments. On the second of May the Germans took one of the enemy's redoubts by surprise, and the marquis de Lede ordered all his forces to be drawn out to retake this fortification: both armies were on the point of engaging, when a courier arrived in a felucca, with a packet for the marquis, containing full powers to treat and agree about the evacuation of the island, and the transportation of the army

to Spain: he forthwith drew off his army; and sent a trumpet to the general and admiral, with letters, informing them of the orders he had received: commissioners were appointed on each side, the negotiations begun, and the convention signed in a very few days: the Germans were put in possession of Palermo, and the Spanish army marched to Tauromini, from whence they were transported to Barcelona.

20. The admiral continued in the Mediterranean until he had seen the islands of Sicily and Sardinia evacuated by the Spaniards, and the mutual cessions executed between the emperor and the duke of Savoy; in consequence of which, four battalions of Piedmontese troops were transported from Palermo to Sardinia, and took possession of Cagliari in the name of their master: in a word, admiral Byng bore such a considerable share in this war of Sicily, that the fate of the island depended wholly on his courage, vigilance, and conduct: when he waited on his majesty at Hanover, he met with a very gracious reception: the king told him he had found out the secret of obliging his enemies as well as his friends; for the court of Spain had mentioned him in the most honorable terms, with respect to his candid and friendly deportment, in providing transports and other necessaries for the embarkation of their troops, and in protecting them from oppression: he was appointed treasurer of the navy and rear-admiral of Great Britain; in a little time the king ennobled him, by the title of viscount Torrington; he was declared a privy-counsellor, and afterwards made knight of the bath, at the revival of that order. During these occurrences in the Mediterranean, the duke of Berwick advanced with the French army to the frontiers of Spain, where he took Fort Passage and destroyed six ships of war that were on the stocks; then he reduced Fontarabia and St. Sebastian, together with Port Antonio, in the bottom of the bay of Biscay: in this last exploit the French were assisted by a detachment of English seamen, who burned two large ships unfinished, and a great quantity of naval stores. The king of England, with a view to indemnify himself for the expense of the war, projected the conquest of Corunna in Biscay, and of Peru in South-America: 4000 men, commanded by lord Cobham, were embarked at the isle of Wight, and sailed on the twenty-first of September, under convoy of five ships of war, conducted by admiral Mighels: instead of making an attempt on Corunna, they reduced

Vigo with very little difficulty, and Point-a-Vedra submitted without resistance: here they found some brass artillery, small arms, and military stores, with which they returned to England: in the mean time, captain Johnson, with two English ships of war, destroyed the same number of Spanish ships in the port of Ribadeo, to the eastward of Cape Ortegas; so that the naval power of Spain was totally ruined: the expedition to the West-Indies was prevented by the peace. Spain being oppressed on all sides, and utterly exhausted, Philip saw the necessity of a speedy pacification: he now perceived the madness of Alberoni's ambitious projects: that minister was personally disagreeable to the emperor, the king of England, and the regent of France, who had declared they would hearken to no proposals while he should continue in office: the Spanish monarch therefore divested him of his employment, and ordered him to quit the kingdom in three weeks: the marquis de Beretti Landi, minister from the court of Madrid at the Hague, delivered a plan of pacification to the States; but it was rejected by the allies, and Philip was obliged at last to accede to the quadruple alliance.

21. On the fourteenth of November, king George returned to England, and on the twenty-third opened the session of parliament with a speech, in which he told them, that all Europe, as well as Great Britain, was on the point of being delivered from the calamities of war by the influence of British arms and councils: he exhorted the commons to concert proper means for lessening the debts of the nation, and concluded with a panegyric on his own government. It must be owned he had acted with equal vigor and deliberation in all the troubles he had encountered since his accession to the throne. The addresses of both houses were as warm as he could desire: they in particular extolled him for having interposed in behalf of the protestants of Hungary, Poland, and Germany, who had been oppressed by the practices of the popish clergy, and presented to him memorials, containing a detail of their grievances: he and all the other protestant powers warmly interceded in their favor; but the grievances were not redressed. The peerage-bill was now revived by the duke of Buckingham; and in spite of all opposition, passed through the house of lords: it had been projected by earl Stanhope, and eagerly supported by the earl of Sunderland; therefore Mr. Robert Walpole attacked it in the house of commons with extraordinary vehemence:

here too it was opposed by a considerable number of whig members, and after warm debates rejected by a large majority. The next object that engrossed the attention of the parliament was a bill for better securing the dependence of Ireland on the crown of Great Britain : Maurice Annesley had appealed to the house of peers in England, from a decree of the house of peers in Ireland, which was reversed : the British peers ordered the barons of the exchequer in Ireland to put Mr. Annesley in possession of the lands he had lost by the decree in that kingdom : the barons obeyed this order ; and the Irish house of peers passed a vote against them, as having acted in derogation to the king's prerogative in his high court of parliament in Ireland, as also to the rights and privileges of that kingdom, and to the parliament thereof : they likewise ordered them to be taken into custody of the usher of the black rod ; they transmitted a long representation to the king, demonstrating their right to the final judicature of causes ; and the duke of Leeds, in the upper house, urged fifteen reasons to support the claim of the Irish peers : notwithstanding these arguments, the house of lords in England resolved that the barons of the exchequer in Ireland had acted with courage, according to law, in support of his majesty's prerogative, and with fidelity to the crown of Great Britain : they addressed the king to confer on them some marks of his royal favor, as a recompense for the ill usage they had undergone : finally, they prepared the bill, by which the Irish house of lords was deprived of all right to pass sentence, affirm, or reverse any judgment or decree, given or made in any court within that kingdom : in the house of commons it was opposed by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Hungerford, lords Molesworth and Tyrconnel ; but was carried by the majority, and received the royal assent.

22. The king having recommended to the commons the consideration of proper means for lessening the national debt, was a prelude to the famous South-Sea act, which became productive of so much mischief and infatuation : the scheme was projected by Sir John Blunt, who had been bred a scrivener, and was possessed of all the cunning, plausibility, and boldness requisite for such an undertaking : he communicated his plan to Mr. Aislachie, the chancellor of the exchequer, as well as to one of the secretaries of state : he answered all their objections ; and the project was adopted : they foresaw their own private advantage in the execution of the design, which was imparted in the name of the South-

Sea company, of which Blunt was a director, who influenced all their proceedings. The pretence for the scheme was to discharge the national debt, by reducing all the funds into one: the Bank and South-Sea company outbid each other: the South-Sea company altered their original plan, and offered such high terms to government, that the proposals of the Bank were rejected; and a bill was ordered to be brought into the house of commons, formed on the plan presented by the South-Sea company.¹⁹ While this affair was in agitation, the stock of that company rose from 130 to near 400, in consequence of the conduct of the commons, who had rejected a motion for a clause in the bill, to fix what share in the capital stock of the company should be vested in those proprietors of the annuities who might voluntarily subscribe; or how many years purchase in money they should receive in subscribing, at the choice of the proprietors [1720.]. In the house of lords, the bill was opposed by lord North and Grey, earl Cowper, the dukes of Wharton, Buckingham, and other peers: they affirmed it was calculated for enriching a few and impoverishing a great number; that it countenanced the fraudulent and pernicious practice of stock-jobbing, which diverted the genius of the people from trade and industry; that it would give foreigners the opportunity to double and treble the vast sums they had in the public funds; and they would be tempted to realise and withdraw their capital and immense gains to other countries; so that Great Britain would be drained of its gold and silver; that the artificial and prodigious rise of the South-Sea stock was a dangerous bait, which might decoy many unwary people to their ruin, alluring them by a false prospect of gain to part with the fruits of their industry, to purchase imaginary riches; that the addition of above £30,000,000 capital would give such power to the South-Sea company, as might endanger the liberties of the nation; for by their extensive interest they would be able to influence most, if not all the elections of the members, and consequently over-rule the resolutions of the house of commons. Earl Cowper urged, that in all public bargains the individuals in the administration ought to take care that they should be more advantageous to the state than to private persons; but that a contrary method had been followed in the contract made

¹⁹ Annals. Corbet. Historical Register. Tindal. Lives of the Admirals.

with the South-Sea company; for, should the stocks be kept at the advanced price to which they had been raised by the oblique arts of stock-jobbing, either that company or its principal members would gain above £30,000,000, of which no more than one fourth part would be given towards the discharge of the national debts: he apprehended that the re-purchase of annuities would meet with insuperable difficulties; and, in such case, none but a few persons who were in the secret, who had bought stocks at a low rate, and afterwards sold them at a high price, would in the end be gainers by the project. The earl of Sunderland answered their objections: he declared that those who countenanced the scheme of the South-Sea company had nothing in view but the advantage of the nation: he owned that the managers for that company had undoubtedly a prospect of private gain, either to themselves or to their corporation; but, he said, when the scheme was accepted, neither the one nor the other could foresee that the stocks would have risen to such a height: that if they had continued as they were, the public would have had the far greater share of the advantage accruing from the scheme; and should they be kept up to the present high price, it was but reasonable that the South-Sea company should enjoy the profits procured to it by the wise management and industry of the directors, which would enable it to make large dividends, and thereby accomplish the purpose of the scheme. The bill passed without amendment or division; and, on the seventh of April, received the royal assent. By this act the South-Sea company was authorised to take in, by purchase or subscription, the irredeemable debts of the nation, stated at £16,546,482. 7s. 1½d., at such times as they should find convenient before the first of March of the ensuing year, and without any compulsion on any of the proprietors, at such rates and prices as should be agreed on between the company and the respective proprietors: they were likewise authorised to take in all the redeemable debts, amounting to the same sum as that of the irredeemables, either by purchase, by taking subscriptions, or by paying off the creditors: for the liberty of taking in the national debts, and increasing their capital stock accordingly, the company consented that their present, and to be increased annuity, should be continued at five per cent. till Midsummer, in the year 1727; from thence to be reduced to four per cent. and be redeemable by parliament: in consideration of this, and other advantages expressed in the act, the company declared

themselves willing to make such payments into the receipt of the exchequer as were specified for the use of the public, to be applied to the discharge of the public debts incurred before Christmas, in the year 1716: the sums they were obliged to pay for the liberty of taking in the redeemable debts, four years and a half's purchase for all long and short annuities that should be subscribed, and one year's purchase for such long annuities as should not be subscribed, amounted on the execution of the act to about £7,000,000: for enabling the company to raise this sum, they were empowered to make calls for money from their members; to open books of subscription; to grant annuities redeemable by the company; to borrow money on any contract or bill under their common seal, or on the credit of their capital stock; to convert the money demanded of their members into additional stock, without, however, making any addition to the company's annuities, payable out of the public duties. It was enacted, that out of the first moneys arising from the sums paid by the company into the exchequer, such public debts, carrying interest at five per cent. incurred before the twenty-fifth of December, in the year 1716, founded on any former act of parliament, as were now redeemable, or might be redeemed before the twenty-fifth of December, in the year 1722, should be discharged in the first place: that then all the remainder should be applied towards paying off so much of the capital stock of the company as should then carry an interest of five per cent.: it was likewise provided, that after Midsummer, in the year 1727, the company should not be paid off in any sums being less than £1,000,000 at a time.

23. The heads of the royal-assurance and London-assurance companies, understanding that the civil-list was considerably in arrears, offered to the ministry £600,000 towards the discharge of that debt, on condition of their obtaining the king's charter, with a parliamentary sanction, for the establishment of their respective companies: the proposal was embraced; and the king communicated it in a message to the house of commons, desiring their concurrence: a bill was immediately passed, enabling his majesty to grant letters of incorporation to the two companies: it soon obtained the royal assent, and on the eleventh of June an end was put to the session. This was the age of interested projects, inspired by a venal spirit of adventure, the natural consequence of that avarice, fraud, and profligacy, which the moneyed corporations had introduced. This of all others is

the most unfavorable era for an historian : a reader of sentiment and imagination cannot be entertained or interested by a dry detail of such transactions as admit of no warmth, no coloring, no embellishment ; a detail, which serves only to exhibit an inanimate picture of tasteless vice and mean degeneracy.

24. By this time an alliance offensive and defensive was concluded at Stockholm between king George and the queen of Sweden, by which his majesty engaged to send a fleet into the Baltic, to act against the czar of Muscovy, in case that monarch should reject reasonable proposals of peace : Peter loudly complained of the insolent interposition of king George, alleging that he had failed in his engagements both as elector of Hanover and king of Great Britain : his resident at London presented a long memorial on this subject, which was answered by the British and Hanoverian ministry : these recriminations served only to inflame the difference : the czar continued to prosecute the war, and at length concluded a peace without a mediator : at the instances, however, of king George and the regent of France, a treaty of peace was signed between the queen of Sweden and the king of Prussia, to whom that princess ceded the city of Stetin, the district between the rivers Oder and Pehnne, with the isles of Wollin and Usedom : on the other hand, he engaged to join the king of Great Britain in his endeavors to effect a peace between Sweden and Denmark, on condition that the Danish king should restore to queen Ulrica that part of Pomerania which he had seized ; he likewise promised to pay to that queen 2,000,000 rix-dollars, in consideration of the cessions she had made. The treaty between Sweden and Denmark was signed at Fredericstadt in the month of June, through the mediation of the king of Great Britain, who became guarantee for the Dane's keeping possession of Sleswick : he consented however to restore the Upper Pomerania, the isle of Rugen, the city of Wismar, and whatever he had taken from Sweden during the war, in consideration of Sweden's renouncing the exemption from toll in the Sound and the two Belts, and paying to Denmark 600,000 rix-dollars.

25. Sir John Norris had again sailed to the Baltic with a strong squadron to give weight to the king's mediation : when he arrived at Copenhagen, he wrote a letter to prince Dolgorouki, the czar's ambassador at the court of Denmark, signifying that he and the king's envoy at Stockholm were

vested with full powers to act jointly or separately in quality of plenipotentiaries, in order to effect a peace between Sweden and Muscovy in the way of mediation: the prince answered that the czar had nothing more at heart than peace and tranquillity; and in case his Britannic majesty had any proposals to make to that prince, he hoped the admiral would excuse him from receiving them, as they might be delivered in a much more compendious way: the English fleet immediately joined that of Sweden as auxiliaries; but they had no opportunity of acting against the Russian squadron, which secured itself in Revel. Ulrica, queen of Sweden, and sister to Charles XII. had married the prince of Hesse, and was extremely desirous that he should be joined with her in the administration of the regal power: she wrote a separate letter to each of the four states, desiring they would confer on him the sovereignty; and after some opposition from the nobles, he was actually elected king of Sweden: he sent one of his general officers to notify his elevation to the czar, who congratulated him on his accession to the throne; this was the beginning of a negotiation, which ended in peace, and established the tranquillity of the north: in the midst of these transactions, king George set out from England for his Hanoverian dominions; but, before he departed from Great Britain, he was reconciled to the prince of Wales, through the endeavors of the duke of Devonshire and Mr. Walpole, who, with earl Cowper, lord Townshend, Mr. Methuen, and Mr. Pulteney, were received into favor, and re-united with the ministry: the earls of Dorset and Bridgewater were promoted to the title of dukes; lord viscount Castleton was made an earl; Hugh Boscawen was created a baron, and viscount Falmouth; and John Wallop, baron, and viscount of Lymington.

26. While the king was involved at Hanover in a labyrinth of negotiations, the South-Sea scheme produced a kind of national delirium in his English dominions. Blunt, the projector, had taken the hint of his plan from the famous Mississippi scheme formed by Law, which in the preceding year had raised such a ferment in France, and entailed ruin on many thousand families of that kingdom. In the scheme of Law there was something substantial: an exclusive trade to Louisiana promised some advantage, though the design was defeated by the frantic eagerness of the people: Law himself became the dupe of the regent, who transferred the burden of

£1,500,000,000 of the king's debts to the shoulders of the subjects; while the projector was sacrificed as the scape-goat of political iniquity. The South-Sea scheme promised no commercial advantage of any consequence: it was buoyed up by nothing but the folly and rapaciousness of individuals, which became so blind and extravagant, that Blunt, with moderate talents, was able to impose on the whole nation, and make tools of the other directors, to serve his own purposes, and those of a few associates. When this projector found that the South-Sea stock did not rise according to his expectation on the bill's being passed, he circulated a report that Gibraltar and Port Mahon would be exchanged for some places in Peru; by which means the English trade to the South-Sea would be protected and enlarged: this rumor, diffused by his emissaries, acted like a contagion: in five days the directors opened their books for a subscription of £1,000,000, at the rate of £300 for every £100 capital: persons of all ranks crowded to the house in such a manner, that the first subscription exceeded £2,000,000 of original stock: in a few days this stock advanced to £340; and the subscriptions were sold for double the price of the first payment. Without entering into a detail of the proceedings, or explaining the scandalous arts that were practised to enhance the value of the stock, and decoy the unwary, we shall only observe, that by the promise of prodigious dividends and other infamous arts, the stock was raised to £1000, and the whole nation infected with the spirit of stock-jobbing to an astonishing degree: all distinctions of party, religion, sex, character, and circumstances were swallowed up in this universal concern, or in some such pecuniary project: Exchange-alley was filled with a strange concourse of statesmen and clergymen, churchmen and dissenters, whigs and tories, physicians, lawyers, tradesmen, and even with multitudes of females: all other professions and employments were utterly neglected; and the people's attention wholly engrossed by this and other chimerical schemes, which were known by the denomination of bubbles: new companies started up every day, under the countenance of the prime nobility: the prince of Wales was constituted governor of the Welsh copper-company; the duke of Chandos appeared at the head of the York-buildings company; the duke of Bridgewater formed a third, for building houses in London and Westminster: about a hundred such schemes were projected and put in execution, to the ruin

of many thousands: the sums proposed to be raised by these expedients amounted to £300,000,000 sterling, which exceeded the value of all the lands in England: the nation was so intoxicated with the spirit of adventure, that people became a prey to the grossest delusion. An obscure projector, pretending to have formed a very advantageous scheme, which however he did not explain, published proposals for a subscription, in which he promised that in one month the particulars of his project should be disclosed: in the mean time he declared that every person paying two guineas should be entitled to a subscription for £100, which would produce that sum yearly: in one forenoon this adventurer received a thousand of these subscriptions; and in the evening set out for another kingdom. The king, before his departure, had issued a proclamation against these unlawful projects; the lords justices afterwards dismissed all the petitions that had been presented for charters and patents; and the prince of Wales renounced the company of which he had been elected governor. The South-Sea scheme raised such a flood of eager avidity and extravagant hope, that the majority of the directors were swept along with it, even contrary to their own sense and inclination; but Blunt and his accomplices still directed the stream.

27. The infatuation prevailed till the eighth of September, when the stock began to fall: then did some of the adventurers awake from their delirium: the number of the sellers daily increased: on the twenty-ninth of the month the stock had sunk to £150: several eminent goldsmiths and bankers, who had lent great sums on it, were obliged to stop payment and abscond. The ebb of this portentous tide was so violent, that it bore down every thing in its way, and an infinite number of families were overwhelmed with ruin: public credit sustained a terrible shock; the nation was thrown into a dangerous ferment, and nothing was heard but the ravings of grief, disappointment, and despair: some principal members of the ministry were deeply concerned in these fraudulent transactions: when they saw the price of stock sinking daily, they employed all their influence with the Bank to support the credit of the South-Sea company: that corporation agreed, though with reluctance, to subscribe into the stock of the South-Sea company, valued at £400 per cent. £3,500,000, which the company was to repay to the Bank on Lady-

day and Michaelmas of the ensuing year : this transaction was managed by Mr. Robert Walpole, who with his own hand wrote the minute of agreement, afterwards known by the name of the Bank contract : books were opened at the Bank, to take in a subscription for the support of public credit ; and considerable sums of money were brought in : by this expedient the stock was raised at first, and those who contrived it seized the opportunity to realise : but the bankruptcy of goldsmiths and the Sword-Blade company, from the fall of South-Sea stock, occasioned such a run on the Bank, that the money was paid away faster than it could be received from the subscription : then the South-Sea stock sunk again ; and the directors of the Bank, finding themselves in danger of being involved in that company's ruin, renounced the agreement, which indeed they were under no obligation to perform, for it was drawn up in such a manner, as to be no more than the rough draught of a subsequent agreement, without due form, penalty, or clause of obligation. All expedients having failed, and the clamors of the people daily increasing, expresses were despatched to Hanover, representing the state of the nation, and pressing the king to return : he accordingly shortened his intended stay in Germany, and arrived in England on the eleventh of November.

28. The parliament being assembled on the eighth of December, his majesty expressed his concern for the unhappy turn of affairs which had so deeply affected the public credit at home : he earnestly desired the commons to consider of the most effectual and speedy methods to restore the national credit, and fix it on a lasting establishment. The lower house was too much interested in the calamity to postpone the consideration of that subject : the members seemed to lay aside all party distinctions, and vie with each other in promoting an inquiry, by which justice might be done to the injured nation : they ordered the directors to produce an account of all their proceedings. Sir Joseph Jekyl moved that a select committee might be appointed to examine the particulars of this transaction. Mr. Walpole, now paymaster of the forces, observed that such a method would protract the inquiry, while the public credit lay in a bleeding condition : he told the house he had formed a scheme for restoring public credit ; but, before he would communicate this plan, desired to know whether the subscriptions of public debts and encumbrances, money-subscriptions and other contracts

made with the South-Sea company, should remain in the present state: after a warm debate, the question was carried in the affirmative, with this addition;—'unless altered for the ease and relief of the proprietors, by a general court, of the South-Sea company, or set aside in due course of law.' Next day Walpole produced his scheme, to engraft £9,000,000 of South-Sea stock into the Bank of England, and the like sum into the East-India company, on certain conditions: the house voted, that proposals should be received from the Bank and those two companies on this subject: these being delivered, the commons resolved, that an engrossment of £9,000,000 of the capital stock of the South-Sea company into the capital stock of the Bank and East-India company, as proposed by these companies, would contribute very much to the restoring public credit: a bill on this resolution was brought in, passed through both houses, and received the royal assent: another bill was enacted into a law, for restraining the sub-governor, deputy-governor, directors, treasurer, under-treasurer, cashier, secretary, and accountants of the South-Sea company from quitting the kingdom till the end of the next session of parliament; and for discovering their estates and effects, so as to prevent them from being transported or alienated: a committee of secrecy was chosen by ballot, to examine all the books, papers, and proceedings relating to the execution of the South-Sea act.

29. The lords were not less eager than the commons to prosecute this inquiry, though divers members in both houses were deeply involved in the guilt and infamy of the transaction. Earl Stanhope said the estates of the criminals, whether directors or not directors, ought to be confiscated, to repair the public losses: he was seconded by lord Carteret, and even by the earl of Sunderland. The duke of Wharton declared he would give up the best friend he had should he be found guilty: he observed, that the nation had been plundered in a most flagrant and notorious manner; therefore they ought to find out and punish the offenders severely, without respect of persons: the sub and deputy-governors, the directors and officers of the South-sea company, were examined at the bar of the house: then a bill was brought in, disabling them to enjoy any office in that company, or in the East-India company, or in the Bank of England; three brokers were likewise examined, and made great discoveries: Knight, the treasurer of the South-Sea company, who had been entrusted with the secrets of the whole affair, thought proper

to withdraw himself from the kingdom : a proclamation was issued to apprehend him ; and another for preventing any of the directors from escaping out of the kingdom. At this period, the secret committee informed the house of commons, that they had already discovered a train of the deepest villany and fraud that hell ever contrived to ruin a nation, which in due time they would lay before the house : in the mean while, they thought it highly necessary to secure the persons of some of the directors and principal officers of the South-Sea company, as well as to seize their papers : an order was made to secure the books and papers of Knight, Surman, and Turner : the persons of Sir George Caswell, Sir John Blunt, Sir John Lambert, Sir John Fellows, and Mr. Grigsby, were taken into custody : Sir Theodore Jansen, Mr. Sawbridge, Sir Robert Chaplain, and Mr. Eyles were expelled the house, and apprehended : Mr. Aislabie resigned his employments of chancellor of the exchequer and lord of the treasury ; and orders were given to remove all directors of the South-Sea company from the places they possessed under government.

30. The lords, in the course of their examination, discovered that large portions of South-Sea stock had been given to several persons in the administration and house of commons, for promoting the passing of the South-Sea act : the house immediately resolved that this practice was a notorious and most dangerous species of corruption ; that the directors of the South-Sea company, having ordered great quantities of their stock to be bought for the service of the company, when it was at a very high price, and on pretence of keeping up the price of stock ; and at the same time several of the directors, and other officers belonging to the company, having, in a clandestine manner, sold their own stock to the company ; such directors and officers were guilty of a notorious fraud and breach of trust, and their so doing was one great cause of the unhappy turn of affairs, that had so much affected public credit : many other resolutions were taken against that infamous confederacy, in which, however, the innocent were confounded with the guilty. Sir John Blunt refusing to answer certain interrogations, a violent debate arose about the manner in which he should be treated. The duke of Wharton observed, that the government of the best princes was sometimes rendered intolerable to their subjects by bad ministers ; he mentioned the example of Sejanus, who had made a division in the

imperial family, and rendered the reign of Tiberius hateful to the Romans : earl Stanhope, conceiving this reflection was aimed at him, was seized with a transport of anger : he undertook to vindicate the ministry ; and spoke with such vehemence as produced a violent head-ache, which obliged him to retire : he underwent proper evacuations, and seemed to recover ; but next day, in the evening, became lethargic, and being seized with a suffocation, instantly expired : the king deeply regretted the death of this favorite minister, which was the more unfortunate, as it happened at such a critical conjuncture ; and he appointed lord Townshend to fill his place of secretary. Earl Stanhope was survived but a few days by the other secretary, Mr. Craggs, who died of the small-pox on the sixteenth of February. Knight, the cashier of the South-Sea company, being seized at Tirlmont by the vigilance of Mr. Gandot, secretary to Mr. Leathes, the British resident at Brussels, was confined in the citadel of Antwerp : application was made to the court of Vienna, that he should be delivered to such persons as might be appointed to receive him ; but he had found means to interest the states of Brabant in his behalf : they insisted on their privilege granted by charter, that no person apprehended for any crime in Brabant should be tried in any other country : the house of commons expressed their indignation at this frivolous pretence : instances were renewed to the emperor ; and in the mean time Knight escaped from the citadel of Antwerp.

31. The committee of secrecy found, that, before any subscription could be made, a fictitious stock of £574,000 had been disposed of by the directors, to facilitate the passing the bill : great part of this was distributed among the earl of Sunderland, Mr. Craggs senior, the duchess of Kendal, the countess of Platen and her two nieces, Mr. secretary Craggs, and Mr. Aislachie, chancellor of the exchequer : in consequence of the committee's report, the house came to several severe, though just resolutions against the directors and officers of the South-Sea company ; and a bill was prepared for the relief of the unhappy sufferers. Mr. Stanhope, one of the secretaries of the treasury, charged in the report with having large quantities of stock and subscriptions, desired that he might have an opportunity to clear himself : his request was granted ; and the affair being discussed, he was cleared by a majority of three voices. £50,000 in stock had been taken by Knight for the use of

the earl of Sunderland: great part of the house entered eagerly into this inquiry, and a violent dispute ensued: the whole strength of the ministry was mustered in his defence: the majority declared him innocent; the nation in general was of another opinion: he resigned his place of first commissioner in the treasury, which was bestowed on Mr. Robert Walpole; but he still retained the confidence of his master. With respect to Mr. Aislable, the evidence appeared so strong against him, that the commons resolved, he had promoted the destructive execution of the South-Sea scheme, with a view to his own exorbitant profit; and combined with the directors in their pernicious practices, to the ruin of public credit: he was expelled the house, and committed to the Tower. Mr. Craggs senior died of a lethargy before he underwent the censure of the house: nevertheless, they resolved that he was a notorious accomplice with Robert Knight, and some of the directors, in carrying on their scandalous practices; and therefore that all the estate of which he was possessed from the first day of December in the preceding year, should be applied towards the relief of the unhappy sufferers in the South-Sea company.³⁰ The directors, in obedience to the order of the house, delivered in inventories of their estates, which were confiscated by act of parliament, towards making good the damages sustained by the company, after a certain allowance was deducted for each, according to his conduct and circumstances.

32. The delinquents being thus punished by the forfeiture of their fortunes, the house converted their attention to means for repairing the mischiefs which the scheme had produced [1721.]: this was a very difficult task, on account of the contending interests of those engaged in the South-Sea company, which rendered it impossible to relieve some but at the expense of others: several wholesome resolutions were taken, and presented with an address to the king, explaining the motives of their proceedings. On the twenty-ninth of July, the parliament was prorogued for two days only: then his majesty, going to the house of peers, declared that he had called them together again so suddenly, that they might resume the consideration of the state of public credit. The commons immediately prepared a bill on the resolutions they had taken: the whole capital stock, at the end of the year 1720,

³⁰ Oldmixon. Annals. Historical Register. Political State. Debates in Parliament. Tindal.

amounted to about £37,800,000 : the stock allotted to all the proprietors did not exceed £24,500,000 : the remaining capital stock belonged to the company in their corporate capacity : it was the profit arising from the execution of the South-Sea scheme ; and out of this the bill enacted, that £7,000,000 should be paid to the public : the present act likewise directed several additions to be made to the stock of the proprietors out of that possessed by the company in their own right : it made a particular distribution of stock, amounting to £2,200,000 ; and on remitting 5,000,000 of the seven to be paid to the public, annihilated £2,000,000 of their capital. It was enacted, that after these distributions, the remaining capital stock should be divided among all the proprietors : this dividend amounted to £33. 6s. 8d. per cent. and deprived the company of £8,900,000 : they had lent above £11,000,000 on stock unredeemed ; of which the parliament discharged all the debtors, on their paying ten per cent. On this article the company's loss exceeded £6,900,000 ; for many debtors refused to make any payment : the proprietors of the stock loudly complained of their being deprived of £2,000,000 ; and the parliament in the sequel revived that sum which had been annihilated. While this affair was in agitation, petitions from counties, cities, and boroughs in all parts of the kingdom were presented to the house, crying for justice against the villany of the directors : pamphlets and papers were daily published on the same subject ; so that the whole nation was exasperated to the highest pitch of resentment : nevertheless, by the wise and vigorous resolutions of the parliament, the South-Sea company was soon in a condition to fulfil their engagements with the public ; the ferment of the people subsided, and the credit of the nation was restored.

CHAP. XIV.

GEORGE I. (CONTINUED.)—1721.

1. Bill against atheism and immorality postponed—2. Session closed—3. Alliance between Great Britain, France, and Spain—4. Plague at Marseilles—5. Debates in the house of lords about Mr. Law the projector—6. Sentiments of some lords touching the war with Spain—7. Petition of the quakers. The parliament dissolved—8. Rumors of a conspiracy. The bishop of Rochester is committed to the Tower—9. New parliament—10. Declaration of the pretender—11. Report of the secret committee—12. Bill of pains and penalties against the bishop of Rochester,—13. who is deprived, and driven into perpetual exile—14. Proceedings against those concerned in the lottery at Harburg—15. Affairs of the continent—16. Clamor in Ireland on account of Wood's coinage—17. Death of the duke of Orleans—18. An act for lessening the public debts—19. Philip, king of Spain, abdicates the throne—20. Abuses in chancery—21. Trial of the earl of Macclesfield—22. Debates about the debts of the civil list—23. A bill in favor of the late lord Bolingbroke—24. Treaty of alliance between the courts of Vienna and Madrid—25. Treaty of Hanover,—26. approved in parliament—27. Riots in Scotland on account of the malt-tax—28. A small squadron sent to the Baltic—29. Admiral Hosier's expedition to the West-Indies—30. Disgrace of the duke de Ripperda—31. Substance of the king's speech to parliament—32. Debate in the house of lords on the approaching rupture with the emperor and Spain—33. Memorial of Mr. Palms, the imperial resident at London—34. Conventions with Sweden and Hesse-Cassel—35. Vote of credit—36. Siege of Gibraltar by the Spaniards—37. Preliminaries of peace—38. Death and character of George I. king of Great Britain.

1. DURING the infatuation produced by this infamous scheme, luxury, vice, and profligacy increased to a shocking degree of extravagance: the adventurers, intoxicated by their imaginary wealth, pampered themselves with the rarest dainties and the most expensive wines that could be imported; they purchased the most sumptuous furniture, equipage, and apparel, though without taste or discernment; they indulged their criminal passions to the most scandalous excess; their discourse was the language of pride, insolence, and the most ridiculous ostentation; they affected to scoff

at religion and morality, and even to set Heaven at defiance. The earl of Nottingham complained in the house of lords of the growth of atheism, profaneness, and immorality; and a bill was brought in for suppressing blasphemy and profaneness: it contained several articles seemingly calculated to restrain the liberty granted to nonconformists by the laws of the last session; for that reason it met with violent opposition: it was supported by the archbishop of Canterbury, the earl of Nottingham, lords Bathurst and Trevor, the bishops of London, Winchester, and Lichfield and Coventry: one of these said, he verily believed the present calamity occasioned by the South-Sea project was a judgment of God on the blasphemy and profaneness of the nation: lord Onslow replied, 'that noble peer must then be a great sinner, for he has lost considerably by the South-Sea scheme.' The duke of Wharton, who had rendered himself famous by his wit and profligacy, said he was not insensible of the common opinion of the town concerning himself, and gladly seized this opportunity of vindicating his character, by declaring he was far from being a patron of blasphemy, or an enemy to religion: on the other hand, he could not but oppose the bill, because he conceived it to be repugnant to the Holy Scripture: then pulling an old family bible from his pocket, he quoted several passages from the epistles of St. Peter and St. Paul, concluding with a desire that the bill might be thrown out. The earl of Peterborough declared, that though he was for a parliamentary king, yet he did not desire to have a parliamentary God or a parliamentary religion; and, should the house declare for one of this kind, he would go to Rome, and endeavor to be chosen a cardinal; for he had rather sit in the conclave than with their lordships on those terms. After a vehement debate, the bill was postponed to a long day by a considerable majority.

2. The season was far advanced before the supplies were granted; and at length they were not voted with that cheerfulness and good humor which the majority hitherto manifested on such occasions. On the sixteenth of June, the king sent a message to the house of commons, importing that he had agreed to pay a subsidy to the crown of Sweden, and he hoped they would enable him to make good his engagements: the leaders of the opposition took fire at this intimation: they desired to know whether this subsidy, amounting to £72,000 was to be paid to Sweden over and

above the expense of maintaining a strong squadron in the Baltic. Lord Molesworth observed, that by our late conduct we were become the allies of the whole world, and the bubbles of all our allies; for we were obliged to pay them well for their assistance: he affirmed that the treaties which had been made with Sweden at different times were inconsistent and contradictory; that our late engagements with that crown were contrary to the treaties subsisting with Denmark, and directly opposite to the measures formerly concerted with the czar of Muscovy: he said, that in order to engage the czar to yield what he had gained in the course of the war, the king of Prussia ought to give up Stetin, and the elector of Hanover restore Bremen and Verden; that, after all, England had no business to intermeddle with the affairs of the empire; that we reaped little or no advantage by our trade to the Baltic, but that of procuring naval stores: he owned that hemp was a very necessary commodity, particularly at this juncture; but he insisted, that if due encouragement were given to some of our plantations in America, we might be supplied from thence at a much cheaper rate than from Sweden and Norway. Notwithstanding these arguments, the Swedish supply was granted; and, in about three weeks, their complaisance was put to another proof: they were given to understand, by a second message, that the debts of the civil list amounted to £550,000; and his majesty hoped they would empower him to raise that sum on the revenue, as he proposed it should be replaced in the civil list, and reimbursed by a deduction from the salaries and wages of all officers, as well as from the pensions and other payments from the crown: a bill was prepared for this purpose, though not without warm opposition; and, at the same time, an act passed for a general pardon. On the tenth of August, the king closed the session with a speech, in which he expressed his concern for the sufferings of the innocent, and a just indignation against the guilty, with respect to the South-Sea scheme: these professions were judged necessary to clear his own character, which had incurred the suspicion of some people, who whispered that he was not altogether free from connexions with the projectors of that design; that the emperor had, at his desire, refused to deliver up Knight; and that he favored the directors and their accomplices.

3. Lords Townshend and Carteret were now appointed

secretaries of state; and the earl of Ilay was vested with the office of lord privy-seal of Scotland. In June the treaty of peace between Great Britain and Spain was signed at Madrid: the contracting parties engaged to restore mutually all the effects seized and confiscated on both sides; in particular, the king of England promised to restore all the ships of the Spanish fleet which had been taken in the Mediterranean, or the value of them if they were sold: he likewise promised in a secret article, that he would no longer interfere in the affairs of Italy; and the king of Spain made an absolute cession of Gibraltar and Port Mahon: at the same time, a defensive alliance was concluded between Great Britain, France, and Spain: all remaining difficulties were referred to a congress at Cambray, where they hoped to consolidate a general peace, by determining all differences between the emperor and his catholic majesty. In the mean time, the powers of Great Britain, France, and Spain engaged, by virtue of the present treaty, to grant to the duke of Parma a particular protection for the preservation of his territories and rights, and for the support of his dignity: it was also stipulated that the States-General should be invited to accede to this alliance. The congress at Cambray was opened; but the demands on both sides were so high, that it proved ineffectual: in the mean time, the peace between Russia and Sweden was concluded, on condition that the czar should retain Livonia, Ingria, Esthonia, part of Carelia, and of the territory of Wyburg, Riga, Revel, and Narva, in consideration of his restoring part of Finland, and paying 2,000,000 rix-dollars to the king of Sweden. The personal animosity subsisting between king George and the czar seemed to increase: Bastagif, the Russian resident at London, having presented a memorial that contained some unguarded expressions, was ordered to quit the kingdom in a fortnight: the czar published a declaration at Petersburg, complaining of this outrage, which he said ought naturally to have engaged him to use reprisals; but, as he perceived it was done without any regard to the concerns of England, and only in favor of the Hanoverian interest, he was unwilling that the English nation should suffer for a piece of injustice in which they had no share: he therefore granted to them all manner of security, and free liberty to trade in all his dominions. To finish this strange tissue of negociations, king George concluded a treaty with the Moors of Africa, against which the Spaniards loudly exclaimed.

4. In the course of this year, pope Clement XI. died ; and the princess of Wales was delivered of a prince, baptised by the name of William Augustus, the late duke of Cumberland. A dreadful plague raging at Marseilles, a proclamation was published, forbidding any person to come into England from any part of France between the bay of Biscay and Dunkirk without certificates of health : other precautions were taken to guard against contagion : an act of parliament had passed in the preceding session, for the prevention of infection, by building pest-houses, to which all infected persons, and all persons of an infected family, should be conveyed ; and by drawing trenches and lines round any city, town, or place infected. The king, in his speech at opening the session of parliament on the nineteenth of October, intimated the pacification of the north, by the conclusion of the treaty between Muscovy and Sweden : he desired the house of commons to consider of means for easing the duties on the imported commodities used in the manufactures of the kingdom : he observed, that the nation might be supplied with naval stores from our own colonies in North-America ; and that their being employed in this useful and advantageous branch of commerce would divert them from setting up manufactures which directly interfered with those of Great Britain : he expressed a desire that, with respect to the supplies, his people might reap some immediate benefit from the present circumstances of affairs abroad ; and he earnestly recommended to their consideration means for preventing the plague, particularly by providing against the practice of smuggling.

5. One of the first objects that attracted the attention of the upper house was the case of John Law, the famous projector. The resentment of the people on account of his Mississippi scheme had obliged him to leave France : he retired to Italy, and was said to have visited the pretender at Rome : from thence he repaired to Hanover ; and returned to England from the Baltic, in the fleet commanded by Sir John Norris : the king favored him with a private audience ; he kept open house, and was visited by great numbers of persons of the first quality. Earl Coningsby represented in the house of lords, that he could not but entertain some jealousy of a person who had done so much mischief in a neighboring kingdom ; who, being immensely rich, might do a great deal more hurt here, by tampering with those who were grown desperate, in consequence of

being involved in the calamity occasioned by the fatal imitation of his pernicious projects: he observed, that this person was the more dangerous, as he had renounced his natural affection to his country, his allegiance to his lawful sovereign, and his religion by turning Roman catholic. Lord Carteret replied, that Mr. Law had, many years ago, the misfortune to kill a gentleman in a duel; but, having at last received the benefit of the king's clemency, and the appeal lodged by the relations of the deceased being taken off, he was come over to plead his majesty's pardon: he said there was no law to keep an Englishman out of his country; and, as Mr. Law was a subject of Great Britain, it was not even in the king's power to hinder him from coming over. After some dispute, the subject was dropped, and this great projector pleaded his pardon in the king's-bench, according to the usual form.

6. The ministry had by this time secured such a majority in both houses, as enabled them to carry any point without the least difficulty: some chiefs of the opposition they had brought over to their measures, and among the rest lord Harcourt, who was created a viscount, and gratified with a pension of £4000: nevertheless they could not shut the mouths of the minority, who still preserved the privilege of complaining. Great debates were occasioned by the navy debt, which was increased to £1,700,000: some members in both houses affirmed that such extraordinary expense could not be for the immediate service of Great Britain, but in all probability for the preservation of foreign acquisitions: the ministers answered, that near two-thirds of the navy debts were contracted in the late reign; and the parliament acquiesced in this declaration: but in reality the navy debt had been unnecessarily increased, by keeping seamen in pay during the winter, and sending fleets to the Mediterranean and Baltic, in order to support the interests of Germany. The duke of Wharton moved that the treaty with Spain might be laid before the house: the earl of Sunderland said it contained a secret article, which the king of Spain desired might not be made public, until after the treaty of Cambray should be discussed: the question was put, and the duke's motion rejected. The earl of Strafford asserted, that as the war with Spain had been undertaken without necessity or just provocation, so the peace was concluded without any benefit or advantage; that, contrary to the law of nations, the Spanish fleet had

been attacked without any declaration of war, even while a British minister and a secretary of state were treating amicably at Madrid; that the war was neither just nor politic, since it interrupted one of the most valuable branches of the English commerce, at a time when the nation groaned under the pressure of heavy debts, incurred by the former long, expensive war: he therefore moved for an address to his majesty, desiring that the instructions given to Sir George Byng, now lord Torrington, should be laid before the house: this motion being likewise, on the question, rejected, a protest was entered: they voted an address, however, to know in what manner the king had disposed of the ships taken from the Spaniards. Disputes arose also from the bill to prevent infection: earl Cowper represented, that the removal of persons to a lazaret, or pest-house, by order of the government, and the drawing lines and trenches round places infected, were powers unknown to the British constitution, inconsistent with the lenity of a free government, such as could never be wisely or usefully put in practice; the more odious, because copied from the arbitrary government of France; and impracticable, except by military compulsion: these obnoxious clauses were accordingly repealed, though not without great opposition: indeed, nothing can be more absurd than a constitution that will not admit of just and necessary laws and regulations to prevent the dire consequences of the worst of all calamities: such restrictions, instead of favoring the lenity of a free government, would be the most cruel imposition that could be laid on a free people; as it would act in diametrical opposition to the great principle of society, which is the preservation of the individual.

7. The quakers having presented a petition to the house of commons, praying that a bill might be brought in for omitting, in their solemn affirmation, the words, 'in the presence of Almighty God,' the house complied with their request; but the bill gave rise to a warm debate among the peers. Dr. Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, said he did not know why such a distinguishing mark of indulgence should be allowed to a set of people who were hardly christians: he was supported by the archbishop of York, the earl of Strafford, and lord North and Grey: a petition was presented against the bill by the London clergy, who expressed a serious concern lest the minds of good men should be grieved and wounded, and the enemies of christianity tri-

umph, when they should see such condescensions made by a christian legislature to a set of men who renounce the divine institutions of Christ; particularly that by which the faithful are initiated into his religion, and denominated Christians: the petition, though presented by the archbishop of York, was branded by the ministry as a seditious libel, and rejected by the majority: then, on a motion by the earl of Sunderland, the house resolved, that such lords as might enter protestations with reasons should do it before two o'clock on the next sitting-day, and sign them before the house rises.¹ The supplies being granted, and the business of the session despatched as the court was pleased to dictate, on the seventh of March the parliament was prorogued: in a few days it was dissolved, and another convoked by a proclamation: in the election of members for the new parliament the ministry exerted itself with such success, as returned a great majority in the house of commons extremely well adapted for all the purposes of an administration.²

8. In the beginning of May, 1722, the king is said to have received from the duke of Orleans full and certain information of a fresh conspiracy formed against his person and government: a camp was immediately formed in Hyde-park; all military officers were ordered to repair to their respective commands; lieutenant-general Macartney was despatched to Ireland, to bring over some troops from that kingdom; some suspected persons were apprehended in Scotland; the States of Holland were desired to have their auxiliary or guarantee troops in readiness to be embarked; and colonel Churchill was sent to the court of France with a private commission. The apprehension raised by this supposed plot affected the public credit: South-Sea stock began to fall,

¹ Annals. Historical Register. Debates in Parliament. Political State. Tindal.

² The earl of Sunderland died in April, after having incurred a great load of popular odium from his supposed connexions with the directors of the South-Sea company: he was a minister of abilities, but violent, impetuous, and headstrong: his death was soon followed by that of his father-in-law, the great duke of Marlborough, whose faculties had been for some time greatly impaired: he was interred in Westminster-abbey with such profusion of funeral pomp, as evinced the pride and ostentation, much more than the taste and concern of those who directed his obsequies: he was succeeded as master of the ordnance, and colonel of the first regiment of foot-guards, by earl Cadogan.

and crowds of people called in their money from the Bank : lord Townshend wrote a letter to the mayor of London, by the king's command, signifying his majesty's having received unquestionable advices, that several of his subjects had entered into a wicked conspiracy, in concert with traitors abroad, for raising a rebellion in favor of a popish pretender, but that he was firmly assured the authors of it neither were nor would be supported by any foreign power : this letter was immediately answered by an affectionate address from the court of aldermen ; and the example of London was followed by many other cities and boroughs. The king had determined to visit Hanover, and actually settled a regency, in which the prince of Wales was not included ; but now this intended journey was laid aside ; the court was removed to Kensington, and the prince retired to Richmond : the bishop of Rochester, having been seized with his papers, was examined before a committee of the council, who committed him to the Tower for high-treason : the earl of Orrery, lords North and Grey, Mr. Cochran, and Mr. Smith from Scotland, and Mr. Christopher Layer, a young gentleman of the Temple, were confined in the same place : Mr. George Kelly, an Irish clergyman, Mr. Robert Cotton of Huntingdonshire, Mr. Bingley, Mr. Fleetwood, Neynoe, an Irish priest, and several persons, were taken into custody ; and Mr. Shippen's house was searched : after bishop Atterbury had remained a fortnight in the Tower, Sir Constantine Phipps presented a petition to the court at the Old-Bailey, in the name of Mrs. Morris, that prelate's daughter, praying that, in consideration of the bishop's ill state of health, he might be either brought to a speedy trial, bailed, or discharged ; but this was over-ruled. The churchmen through the whole kingdom were filled with indignation at the confinement of a bishop, which they said was an outrage on the church of England and the episcopal order : far from concealing their sentiments on this subject, the clergy ventured to offer up public prayers for his health in almost all the churches and chapels of London and Westminster : in the mean time, the king, attended by the prince of Wales, made a summer progress through the western counties.

9. The new parliament being assembled on the ninth of October, his majesty made them acquainted with the nature of the conspiracy : he said, the conspirators had, by their emissaries, made the strongest instances for succors from foreign powers, but were disappointed in their expectations ;

that, nevertheless, confiding in their numbers, they had resolved once more, on their own strength, to attempt the subversion of his government: he said they had provided considerable sums of money, engaged great numbers of officers from abroad, secured large quantities of arms and ammunition; and had not the plot been timely discovered, the whole nation, and particularly the city of London, would have been involved in blood and confusion: he expatiated on the mildness and integrity of his own government; and inveighed against the ingratitude, the implacability, and madness of the disaffected, concluding with an assurance that he would steadily adhere to the constitution in church and state, and continue to make the laws of the realm the rule and measure of all his actions. Such addresses were presented by both houses as the fears and attachment of the majority may be supposed to have dictated on such an occasion: a bill was brought into the house of lords, for suspending the habeas-corpus act for a whole year; but they were far from being unanimous in agreeing to such an unusual length of time: by this suspension, they, in effect, vested the ministry with a dictatorial power over the liberties of the people.

10. The opposition in the house of commons was so violent, that Mr. Robert Walpole found it necessary to alarm their apprehensions by a dreadful story of a design to seize the Bank and Exchequer, and to proclaim the pretender on the Royal Exchange: their passions being inflamed by this ridiculous artifice, they passed the bill, which immediately received the royal assent. The duke of Norfolk, being brought from Bath, was examined before the council, and committed to the Tower, on suspicion of high-treason: on the sixteenth of November, the king sent to the house of peers the original and printed copy of a declaration signed by the pretender: it was dated at Lucca, on the twentieth of September, in the present year, and appeared to be a proposal addressed to the subjects of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as to all foreign princes and states. In this paper, the chevalier de St. George, having mentioned the late violation of the freedom of elections, conspiracies invented to give a color to new oppressions, infamous informers, and the state of proscription in which he supposed every honest man to be; very gravely proposed, that if king George would relinquish to him the throne of Great Britain, he would, in

return, bestow on him the title of king in his native dominions, and invite all other states to confirm it: he likewise promised to leave to king George his succession to the British dominions secure, whenever, in due course, his natural right should take place. The lords unanimously resolved that this declaration was a false, insolent, and traitorous libel; and ordered it to be burned at the Royal Exchange: the commons concurred in these resolutions: both houses joined in an address, expressing their utmost astonishment and indignation at the surprising insolence of the pretender, and assuring his majesty they were determined to support his title to the crown with their lives and fortunes: the commons prepared a bill for raising £100,000 on the real and personal estates of all papists, or persons educated in the popish religion, towards defraying the expenses occasioned by the late rebellion and disorders. This bill, though strenuously opposed by some moderate members as a species of persecution, was sent up to the house of lords, together with another, obliging all persons, being papists, in Scotland, and all persons in Great Britain refusing or neglecting to take the oaths appointed for the security of the king's person and government, to register their names and real estates. Both these bills passed through the upper house without amendments, and received the royal sanction.

11. Mr. Layer, being brought to his trial at the king's bench on the twenty-first of November, was convicted of having enlisted men for the pretender's service, in order to stir up a rebellion, and received sentence of death: he was reprieved for some time, and examined by a committee of the house of commons; but he either could not or would not discover the particulars of the conspiracy; so that he suffered death at Tyburn, and his head was fixed up at Temple-bar. Mr. Pulteney, chairman of the committee, reported to the house, that, from the examination of Layer and others, a design had been formed by persons of figure and distinction at home, in conjunction with traitors abroad, for placing the pretender on the throne of these realms; that their first intention was to procure a body of foreign troops to invade the kingdom at the time of the late elections; but that the conspirators, being disappointed in this expectation, resolved to make an attempt at the time that it was generally believed the king intended to go to Hanover, by the help of such officers and soldiers as could pass into

England unobserved from abroad, under the command of the late duke of Ormond, who was to have landed in the river with a great quantity of arms provided in Spain for that purpose, at which time the Tower was to have been seized: that this scheme being also defeated by the vigilance of the government, they deferred their enterprise till the breaking up of the camp; and, in the mean time, employed their agents to corrupt and seduce the officers and soldiers of the army: that it appeared from several letters and circumstances, that the late duke of Ormond, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Orrery, lords North and Grey, and the bishop of Rochester were concerned in this conspiracy; that their acting agents were Christopher Layer and John Plunket, who travelled together to Rome; Dennis Kelly, George Kelly, and Thomas Carte, nonjuring clergymen; Neynoe, the Irish priest, who by this time was drowned in the river Thames, in attempting to make his escape from the messenger's house; Mrs. Spilman, alias Yallop; and John Sample.

12. This pretended conspiracy in all likelihood extended no farther than the first rudiments of a design that was never digested into any regular form; otherwise the persons said to be concerned in it must have been infatuated to a degree of frenzy; for they were charged with having made application to the regent of France, who was well known to be intimately connected with the king of Great Britain: the house of commons however resolved that it was a detestable and horrid conspiracy for raising a rebellion, seizing the Tower and the city of London, laying violent hands on the persons of his most sacred majesty and the prince of Wales, in order to subvert our present happy establishment in church and state, by placing a popish pretender on the throne; that it was formed and carried on by persons of figure and distinction, and their agents and instruments, in conjunction with traitors abroad. Bills were brought in and passed for inflicting pains and penalties against John Plunket and George Kelly, who were by these acts to be kept in close custody during his majesty's pleasure in any prison in Great Britain, and that they should not attempt to escape on pain of death, to be inflicted on them and their assistants: Mr. Yonge made a motion for a bill of the same nature against the bishop of Rochester: this was immediately brought into the house, though Sir William Wyndham affirmed there was no evidence against him but con-

jectures and hearsay.³ The bishop wrote a letter to the speaker, importing that, though conscious of his own innocence, he should decline giving the house any trouble that day, contenting himself with the opportunity of making his defence before another, of which he had the honor to be a member: counsel being heard for the bill, it was committed to a grand committee on the sixth of April, 1723, when the majority of the tory members quitted the house: it was then moved, that the bishop should be deprived of his office and benefice, and banished the kingdom for ever. Mr. Lawson and Mr. Oglethorpe spoke in his favor.

13. The bill being passed, and sent up to the lords, the bishop was brought to his trial before them on the ninth of May: himself and his council having been heard, the lords proceeded to consider the articles of the bill: when they read it a third time, a motion was made to pass it, and there a long and warm debate ensued. Earl Paulet demonstrated the danger and injustice of swerving in such an extraordinary manner from the fixed rules of evidence. The duke of Wharton, having summed up the depositions, and proved the insufficiency of them, concluded with saying, that, let the consequences be what they would, he hoped such a hellish stain would never sully the lustre and glory of that illustrious house as to condemn a man without the least evidence. Lord Bathurst spoke against the bill with equal strength and eloquence: he said, if such extraordinary proceedings were countenanced, he saw nothing remaining for him and others to do but to retire to their country-houses, and there, if possible, quietly enjoy their estates within their own families, since the least correspondence, the least intercepted letter, might be made criminal: he observed, that cardinal Mazarin boasted, that if he had but two lines of any man's writing, he could, by means of a few circumstances, attested by witnesses, deprive him of his life at his pleasure: turning to the bench of bishops, who had been generally unfavorable to Dr. Atterbury, he said he could hardly account for the inveterate hatred and malice some persons bore the learned and ingenious bishop of Rochester, unless they were intoxicated with the infatuation of some savage Indians, who believed they inherited not only the spoils, but even the abilities of any great enemy whom they had killed in battle. The bill was supported by the duke of Argyle,

³ Annals. Tindal. Debates in Parliament. Political State.

the earl of Seafield, and lord Lechmere, which last was answered by earl Cowper: this nobleman observed that the strongest argument urged in behalf of the bill was necessity; but that, for his part, he saw no necessity that could justify such unprecedented and such dangerous proceedings, as the conspiracy had above twelve months before been happily discovered, and the effects of it prevented; that besides the intrinsic weight and strength of the government, the hands of those at the helm had been still farther fortified by the suspension of the habeas-corpus act, and the additional troops which had been raised: he said the known rules of evidence, as laid down at first, and established by the law of the land, were the birthright of every subject in the nation, and ought to be constantly observed, not only in the inferior courts of judicature, but also in both houses of parliament, till altered by the legislature; that the admitting of the precarious and uncertain evidence of the clerks of the post-office was a very dangerous precedent: in former times, he said, it was thought very grievous that in capital cases a man should be affected by similitude of hands; but here the case is much worse, since it is allowed that the clerks of the post-office should carry the similitude of hands four months in their minds: he applauded the bishop's noble deportment, in declining to answer before the house of commons, whose proceedings in this unprecedented manner, against a lord of parliament, was such an encroachment on the prerogative of the peerage, that if they submitted to it, by passing the bill, they might be termed the last of British peers, for giving up their ancient privileges. The other party were not so solicitous about answering reasons as eager to put the question, when the bill passed, and a protest was entered: by this act the bishop was deprived of all offices, benefices, and dignities, and rendered incapable of enjoying any for the future: he was banished the realm, and subjected to the pains of death in case he should return, as were all persons who should correspond with him during his exile. Dr. Friend, the celebrated physician, who was a member of the house, and had exerted himself strenuously in behalf of the bishop, was now taken into custody, on suspicion of treasonable practices.

14. The next object that excited the resentment of the commons was the scheme of a lottery, to be drawn at Harburg, in the king's German dominions: the house appointed

a committee to inquire into this and other lotteries at that time on foot in London: the scheme was published, on pretence of raising a subscription for maintaining a trade between Great Britain and the king's territories on the Elbe; but it was a mysterious scene of iniquity, which the committee, with all their penetration, could not fully discover: they reported, however, that it was an infamous, fraudulent undertaking, whereby many unwary persons had been drawn in, to their great loss; that the manner of carrying it on had been a manifest violation of the laws of the kingdom; that the managers and agents of this lottery had, without any authority for so doing, made use of his majesty's royal name, thereby to give countenance to the infamous project, and induce his majesty's subjects to engage or be concerned therein: a bill was brought in to suppress this lottery, and to oblige the managers of it to make restitution of the money they had received from the contributors: at the same time the house resolved, that John lord viscount Barrington had been notoriously guilty of promoting, abetting, and carrying on that fraudulent undertaking; for which offence he should be expelled the house. The court of Vienna having erected an East-India company at Ostend, on a scheme formed by one Colebrook, an English merchant, Sir Nathanael Gould represented to the house of commons the great detriment which the English East-India company had already received, and were likely farther to sustain, by this Ostend company: the house immediately resolved, that for the subjects of this kingdom to subscribe, or be concerned in encouraging any subscription, to promote an East-India company now erecting in the Austrian Netherlands, was a high crime and misdemeanor; and a law was enacted for preventing British subjects from engaging in that enterprise. By another act, relating to the South-Sea company, the £2,000,000 of stock which had been annihilated were revived, added to the capital, and divided among the proprietors: a third law passed for the more effectual execution of justice in a part of Southwark called the Mint, where a great number of debtors had taken sanctuary, on the supposition that it was a privileged place. On the twenty-seventh of May the session was closed, with a speech that breathed nothing but panegyric, acknowledgement, and affection to a parliament which had complied with all his majesty's wishes.

15. His majesty, having ennobled the son of Mr. Robert

Walpole, in consideration of the father's services, made a good number of church promotions: he admitted the imprisoned lords and gentlemen to bail, granted a pardon to lord Bolingbroke, and ordered the bishop of Rochester to be conveyed to the continent: then he himself set out for Hanover, leaving the administration of his kingdoms in the hands of a regency, lord Harcourt being one of the justices: the king was attended by the two secretaries, lords Townshend and Carteret, who were counted able negotiators. The affairs of the continent had begun to take a new turn: the interests and connexions of the different princes were become perplexed and embarrassed; and king George resolved to unravel them by dint of negotiation: understanding that a treaty was on the carpet between the czar and the king of Sweden, favorable to the duke of Holstein's pretensions to Sleswick, the possession of which the elector of Hanover had guaranteed to Denmark, his majesty began to be in pain for Bremen and Verden: the regent of France and the king of Spain had now compromised all differences, and their reconciliation was cemented by a double marriage between Philip's sons and the regent's daughters: the former proposed new treaties to England; but insisted on the restitution of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, as well as on the king's openly declaring against the Ostend company: his Britannic majesty was apprehensive, that, should the emperor be hard pressed on that subject, he might join the czar and the king of Sweden, and promote their designs in favor of the duke of Holstein. On the other hand, all the Italian powers exclaimed against the treaty of London: the pope had protested against any thing that might have been decided at Cambray to the prejudice of his right: memorials to the same effect had been presented by the king of Sardinia, the dukes of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena: France and Spain were inclined to support these potentates against the house of Austria; Europe seemed to be on the eve of a new war. King George was entangled in such a variety of treaties and interests, that he knew not well how to extricate himself from the troublesome engagements he had contracted: by declaring for the emperor, he must have countenanced the new establishment at Ostend, which was so prejudicial to his British subjects, and incurred the resentment of France, Spain, and their allies of Italy; in renouncing the interest of the emperor, he would have exposed his German dominions: in vain he exhorted the emperor to relax in his

disputes with Spain, and give up the Ostend company, which was so detrimental and disagreeable to his faithful allies: the court of Vienna proposed in general to observe the treaties which it had concluded, but declined entering into any particular discussion; so that all his majesty's endeavors issued in contracting closer connexions with Prussia and Denmark: all those negotiations carried on, all those treaties concluded by king George with almost every prince and state in Christendom, which succeeded one another so fast, and appear at first view so intricate and unaccountable, were founded on two simple and natural principles; namely, the desire of ascertaining his acquisitions as elector of Hanover, and his resolution to secure himself against the disaffection of his British subjects as well as the efforts of the pretender.

16. Great Britain at this period enjoyed profound tranquillity: Ireland was a little ruffled by an incident which seemed to have been misrepresented to the people of that kingdom. William Wood had obtained a patent for furnishing Ireland with copper currency, in which it was deficient: a great clamor was raised against this coin: the parliament of that kingdom, which met in September, resolved, that it would be prejudicial to the revenue, destructive of trade, and of dangerous consequence to the rights of the subject; that the patent had been obtained by misrepresentation; that the halfpence wanted weight; that, even if the terms of the patent had been complied with, there would have been a great loss to the nation; that granting the power of coinage to a private person had ever been highly prejudicial to the kingdom, and would at all times be of dangerous consequence. Addresses from both houses were presented to the king on this subject: the affair was referred to the lords of the privy-council of England: they justified the conduct of the patentee, on the report of Sir Isaac Newton and other officers of the Mint, who had made the assay and trial of Wood's halfpence, and found he had complied with the terms of the patent: they declared that this currency exceeded in goodness, fineness, and value of metal, all the copper money which had been coined for Ireland in the reigns of king Charles II. king James II. king William and queen Mary: the privy-council likewise demonstrated that his majesty's predecessors had always exercised the undoubted prerogative of granting patents for copper coinage in Ireland to private persons; that none of these patents had

been so beneficial to the kingdom as this granted to William Wood, who had not obtained it in an unprecedented manner, but after a reference to the attorney and solicitor-general, and after Sir Isaac Newton had been consulted in every particular: finally, they proved, by a great number of witnesses, that there was a real want of such money in Ireland: notwithstanding this decision, the ferment of the Irish nation was industriously kept up by clamor, pamphlets, papers, and lampoons written by Dean Swift and other authors; so that Wood voluntarily reduced his coinage from the value of £100,000 to that of £40,000: thus the noise was silenced. The commons of Ireland passed an act, for accepting the affirmation of the quakers instead of an oath; and voted £340,000 towards discharging the debt of the nation, which amounted to about double that sum.

17. In the month of October, England lost a worthy nobleman in the death of earl Cowper, who had twice discharged the office of lord chancellor with equal discernment and integrity: he was profoundly skilled in the laws of his country; in his apprehension quick and penetrating; in his judgment clear and determinate: he possessed a manly eloquence; his manner was agreeable, and his deportment graceful. This year was likewise remarkable for the death of the duke of Orleans, regent of France, who, since the decease of Louis XIV. had ruled that nation with the most absolute authority: he was a prince of taste and spirit, endowed with shining talents for empire, which he did not fail to display, even in the midst of effeminate pursuits and idle debauchery: from the infirm constitution of the infant king, he had conceived hopes of ascending the throne, and taken his measures accordingly; but the young monarch's health began to be established, and all the duke's schemes were defeated by an apoplexy, of which he died, in the fiftieth year of his age, after having nominated the duke of Bourbon as prime-minister: king George immediately received assurances of the good disposition of the French court to cultivate and even improve the good understanding so happily established between France and Great Britain. The king arrived in England on the eighteenth of December; and on the ninth of January the parliament was assembled: his majesty, in his speech, recommended to the commons the care of the public debts; and he expressed his satisfaction at seeing the sinking fund improved and augmented, so as to put the debt of the nation into a method of being speedily and gradually discharged.

18. This was the repeated theory of patriotism, which, un-
happily for the subjects, was never reduced to practice; not
out that a beginning of such a laudable work was made in
this very session, by an act for lessening the public debts:
this law provided that the annuities at five per cent. charged
on the general fund by a former act, except such as had been
subscribed into the South-Sea, together with the unsub-
scribed blanks of the lottery in the year 1714, should be paid
off at Lady-day of the year next ensuing, with the money
arising from the sinking fund: the ministry however did not
persevere in this path of prudent economy. The commons
granted all the supplies that were demanded: they voted
10,000 seamen; and the majority, though not without vio-
lent opposition, agreed to maintain 4000 additional troops,
which had been raised in the preceding year; so that the
establishment of land forces amounted to 18,264: the ex-
pense of the year was defrayed by a land-tax and malt-tax.⁴
The commons, having despatched the supply, took into con-
sideration a grievance arising from protections granted by
foreign ministers, peers, and members of parliament, under
which profligate persons used to screen themselves from the
prosecution of their just creditors: the commons resolved
that all protections granted by members of that house
should be declared void, and immediately withdrawn: the lords
made a declaration to the same purpose, with an exception
of menial servants, and those necessarily employed about
the estates of peers.⁵ On the twenty-fourth of April, 1724,
his majesty closed the session in the usual manner, made

⁴ Oldmixon. Political State. Historical Register. Annals of
King George. Historical Memoirs. Tyndal.

⁵ The duke of Newcastle was now appointed secretary of state,
the duke of Grafton lord chamberlain, and lord Carteret lord
lieutenant of Ireland.

The king instituted a professorship for the modern languages in
each university.

In the month of May died Robert Harley, earl of Oxford and
earl Mortimer, who had been a munificent patron of genius and
literature, and completed a very valuable collection of manu-
scripts.

The practice of inoculation for the small-pox was by this time
introduced into England from Turkey: prince Frederic, the two
princesses Amelia and Caroline, the duke of Bedford and his
sister, with many other persons of distinction, underwent this
operation with success.

Dr. Henry Sacheverel died in June, after having bequeathed
£500 to the late bishop of Rochester.

some alterations in the disposition of the great offices of state, and sent Mr. Horace Walpole as ambassador extraordinary to the court of France.

19. In the beginning of this year, Philip, king of Spain, retiring with his queen to the monastery of St. Ildefonso, sent the marquis of Grimaldi, his principal secretary of state, to his son Louis, prince of Asturias, with a solemn renunciation of the crown, and a letter of advice, in which he exhorted him to cultivate the Blessed Virgin with the warmest devotion, and put himself and his kingdoms under her protection: the renunciation was published through the whole monarchy of Spain; and the council of Castile resolved that Louis might assume the reins of government without assembling the cortes. The English minister at Paris was instructed to interpose in behalf of the French protestants, against whom a severe edict had been lately published; but his remonstrances produced no effect: England, in the mean time, was quite barren of such events as deserve a place in history: the government was now firmly established on the neck of opposition, and commerce flourished even under the load of grievous impositions.

20. The next parliament, which met on the twelfth of November, seemed to be assembled for no other purpose than that of establishing funds for the expense of the ensuing year: yet the session was distinguished by a remarkable incident; namely, the trial of the earl of Macclesfield, lord chancellor of England: this nobleman had connived at certain venal practices touching the sale of places, and the money of suitors deposited with the masters of chancery, so as to incur the general reproach of the nation: he found it necessary to resign the great seal in the beginning of January: on the ninth of the ensuing month, the king sent a message to the commons, importing that his majesty, having reason to apprehend that the suitors in the court of chancery were in danger of losing a considerable sum of money from the insufficiency of some of the masters, thought himself obliged, in justice and compassion to the said sufferers, to take the most speedy and proper method the law would allow for inquiring into the state of the masters' accounts, and securing their effects for the benefit of the suitors; and his majesty, having had several reports laid before him, in pursuance of the directions he had given, had ordered the reports to be communicated to the house, that they might have as full and as perfect a view of this important affair as

the shortness of the time and the circumstances and nature of the proceedings would admit.

21. These papers being taken into consideration, Sir George Oxenden observed that enormous abuses had crept into the high court of chancery; that the crimes and misdemeanors of the late lord chancellor were many and various, but might be reduced to the following heads; that he had embezzled the estates and effects of many widows, orphans, and lunatics; that he had raised the offices of masters in chancery to an exorbitant price; trusting in their hands large sums of money belonging to suitors, that they might be enabled to comply with his exorbitant demands; and that in several cases he had made divers irregular orders: he therefore moved, that Thomas, earl of Macclesfield, should be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors. Mr. Pulteney moved, that this affair might be left to the consideration of a select committee.⁶ Sir William Wyndham asserted, that in proceeding by way of impeachment on reports from above, they would make a dangerous precedent; and seem to give up the most valuable of their privileges, the inquest after state criminals: the question being put, it was carried for the impeachment: the earl was accordingly impeached at the bar of the upper house; a committee was appointed to prepare articles; and a bill was brought in, to indemnify the masters in chancery from the penalties of the law on discovering what consideration they had paid for their admission to their respective offices. The trial lasted twenty days; the earl was convicted of fraudulent practices, and condemned in a fine of £30,000, with imprisonment until that sum should be paid: he was immediately committed to the Tower, where he continued about six weeks; but on producing the money, he was discharged; and Sir Peter King, now created baron of Oakham, succeeded him in the office of chancellor.

22. His majesty, on the eighth of April, 1725, gave the house of commons to understand, that having been engaged in some extraordinary expenses, he hoped he should be enabled to raise a sum of money, by making use of the funds lately established for the payment of the civil-list annuities, in order to discharge the debts contracted in the civil government. Mr. Pulteney, cofferer of the household, moved for an address, that an account should be laid before

⁶ Annals. Historical Memoirs. Debates in Parliament. Tindal.

the house of all moneys paid for secret service, pensions, and bounties, from the twenty-fifth of March in the year 1701, and to the twenty-fifth of the same month in the present year: this address being voted, a motion was made to consider the king's message: Mr. Pulteney urged that this consideration should be postponed until the house should have examined the papers that were the subject of the address: he expressed his surprise, that a debt amounting to above £500,000 should be contracted in three years: he said, he did not wonder that some persons should be so eager to make good the deficiencies of the civil-list, since they and their friends enjoyed such a share of that revenue; and he desired to know, whether this was all that was due, or whether they should expect another reckoning. This gentleman began to be dissatisfied with the measures of the ministry; and his sarcasms were aimed at Mr. Walpole, who undertook to answer his objections. The commons took the message into consideration, and passed a bill, enabling his majesty to raise a sum, not exceeding £1,000,000, by exchequer-bills, loans, or otherwise, on the credit of the deductions of sixpence per pound, directed by an act of parliament of the seventh year of his majesty, and of the civil-list revenues, at an interest not exceeding three per cent. till repayment of the principal.

23. On the twentieth of April a petition was presented to the house by lord Finch, in behalf of Henry St. John, late viscount Bolingbroke, praying that the execution of the law with respect to his forfeitures might be suspended, as a pardon had suspended it with respect to his life. Mr. Walpole signified to the house, by his majesty's command, that, seven years before, the petitioner had made his humble application and submission to the king, with assurances of duty, allegiance, and fidelity; that, from his behavior since that time, his majesty was convinced of his being a fit object of his mercy, and consented to his petitioning the house: the petition being read, Mr. Walpole declared himself fully satisfied; that the petitioner had sufficiently atoned for his past offences; and therefore deserved the favor of that house, so far as to enable him to enjoy the family inheritance that was settled on him, which he could not do by virtue of his majesty's pardon, without an act of parliament: lord Finch moved that a bill might be brought in for this purpose, and was warmly opposed by Mr. Methuen, comptroller of the household, who represented Bolingbroke as a monster of

iniquity: his remonstrance was supported by lord William Paulet and Mr. Onslow; nevertheless, the bill was prepared; passed through both houses, and received the royal assent. An act being passed for disarming the highlanders of Scotland; another for regulating elections within the city of London; a third for reducing the interest of several Bank annuities, together with some bills of a private nature, the parliament was prorogued in May, after the king had, in the warmest terms of acknowledgement, expressed his approbation of their conduct: then he appointed lords justices to govern the nation in his absence; and set out in June for his German dominions.⁷

24. The tide of political interest on the continent had begun to flow in a new channel, so as to render ineffectual the mounds which his Britannic majesty had raised by his multiplicity of negociations: Louis, the Spanish monarch, dying soon after his elevation to the throne, his father Philip resumed the crown which he had resigned; and gave himself up implicitly to the conduct of his queen, who was a princess of indefatigable intrigue and insatiate ambition: the infanta, who had been married to Louis XV. of France, was so disagreeable to her husband, that the whole French nation began to be apprehensive of a civil war, in consequence of his dying without male issue; he therefore determined, with the advice of his council, to send back the infanta, as the nuptials had not been consummated; and she was attended to Madrid by the marquis de Monteleone: the queen of Spain resented this insult offered to her daughter; and in revenge dismissed Mademoiselle de Beaujolois, one of the regent's daughters, who had been betrothed to her son Don Carlos: as the congress at Cambray had proved ineffectual, she offered to adjust her differences with the emperor, under the sole mediation of Great Britain. This was an honor which king George declined: he was averse to any undertaking that might interrupt the harmony subsisting between him and the

⁷ On the fifth of December the princess of Wales was delivered of a princess, christened by the name of Louisa, and afterwards married to the king of Denmark: she died December 19, 1751.

Immediately after the session of parliament, the king revived the order of the Bath, thirty-eight in number, including the sovereign: William Bateman was created baron of Calmore in Ireland, and viscount Bateman; and Sir Robert Walpole, who had been one of the revived knights of the Bath, was now honored with the order of the garter.

court of Versailles; and he had taken umbrage at the emperor's refusing to grant the investiture of Bremen and Verden except on terms which he did not choose to embrace: the peace between the courts of Vienna and Madrid, which he refused to mediate, was effected by a private negociation, under the management of the duke de Ripperda, a native of the States-General, who had renounced the protestant religion, and entered into the service of his catholic majesty. By two treaties, signed at Vienna in the month of April, the emperor acknowledged Philip as king of Spain and the Indies, and promised that he would not molest him in the possession of those dominions that were secured to him by the treaty of Utrecht: Philip renounced all pretensions to the dominions in Italy and the Netherlands, adjudged to the emperor by the treaty of London: Charles granted the investiture of the dukedoms of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia to the eldest son of the queen of Spain, in default of heirs in the present possessors, as masculine fiefs of the empire: Spain became guarantee of the Austrian succession, according to the pragmatic sanction, by which the dominions of that house were settled on the emperor's heirs general, and declared to be a perpetual, indivisible, and inseparable feoffment to the primogeniture. By the commercial treaty of Vienna, the Austrian subjects were entitled to advantages in trade with Spain which no other nation enjoyed: his catholic majesty guaranteed the Ostend East-India company; and agreed to pay an annual subsidy of 4,000,000 of piastres to the emperor: great sums were remitted to Vienna; the imperial forces were augmented to a formidable number; and other powers were solicited to engage in this alliance, to which the court of Petersburg actually acceded.

25. The king of Great Britain took the alarm: the emperor and he had for some time treated each other with manifest coolness: he had reason to fear some attempts on his German dominions, and projected a defensive treaty with France and Prussia: this alliance, limited to the term of fifteen years, was negotiated and concluded at Hanover in the month of September: it implied a mutual guarantee of the dominions possessed by the contracting parties, their rights and privileges, those of commerce in particular, and an engagement to procure satisfaction to the protestants of Thorn, who had lately been oppressed by the catholics, contrary to the treaty of Oliva. The king, having taken these precautions at Hanover, set out on his return for England; em-

barked at Helvoetsluys in the middle of December; and, after having been exposed to the fury of a dreadful storm, was landed with great difficulty at Rye, from whence he proceeded by land to London: the parliament meeting on the twentieth of the next month, he gave them to understand that the distressed condition of some of their protestant brethren abroad, and the negociations and engagements contracted by some foreign powers, which seemed to have laid the foundation of new troubles and disturbances in Europe, and to threaten his subjects with the loss of several of the most advantageous branches of their trade, had obliged him to concert with other powers such measures as might give a check to the ambitious views of those who were endeavoring to render themselves formidable; and put a stop to the farther progress of such dangerous designs: he told them, that the enemies of his government were already very busy by their instruments and emissaries in those courts whose measures seemed most to favor their purposes, in soliciting and promoting the cause of the pretender. One sees, at first sight, that the interests of Germany dictated the treaty of Hanover: but, in order to secure the approbation of Great Britain, on which the support of this alliance chiefly depended, it was judged necessary to insert the articles relating to commerce and the protestant religion, as if the engagement had been contracted purely for the advantage and glory of England: in a word, the ministry began now to ring the changes on a few words that have been repeated ever since, like cabalistical sounds, by which the nation has been enchanted into a very dangerous connexion with the concerns of the continent: they harangued, they insisted on the machinations of the disaffected, the designs of a popish pretender, the protestant interest, and the balance of power, until these expressions became absolutely terms of ridicule with every person of common sense and reflection: the people were told, that the emperor and the king of Spain, exclusive of the public treaties concluded at Vienna, had entered into private engagements, importing that the imperialists should join the Spaniards in recovering Gibraltar and Port Mahon by force of arms, in case the king of England should refuse to restore them amicably, according to a solemn promise he had made; that a double marriage should take place between the two infants of Spain and the two archduchesses of Austria; and that means should be taken to place the pretender on the throne of Great Britain.

26. When the treaties of Vienna and Hanover fell under consideration of the house of commons, Horace Walpole, afterwards termed, in derision, 'the balance-master,' opened the debate with a long unanimated oration, giving a detail of the affairs of Europe since the treaty of Utrecht: he enumerated the barrier-treaty, the convention for executing that treaty, the defensive alliance with the emperor, the other with the most christian king and the States-General, another convention, the quadruple alliance, the congress at Cambray, the treaty at Hanover, and that of Vienna: he explained the nature of each engagement: he said, the main design of the treaty of commerce concluded between the emperor and Spain, was to countenance and support the East-India company established at Ostend, which interfered so essentially with the East-India companies of England and Holland, and was directly contrary to several solemn treaties still in force: he enlarged on the danger to which the balance of power would be exposed, should the issue male of this projected marriage between the houses of Austria and Spain ever possess the imperial dignity and the kingdom of Spain together. The reader will take notice, that this very man was one of those who exclaimed against that article of the treaty of Utrecht, which prevented the power of those two houses from being immediately united in the person of the emperor. He did not forget to expatiate on the pretended secret engagement concerning Gibraltar and Minorca, and the king's pious concern for the distressed protestants of Thorn in Poland: in vain did Mr. Shippen urge, that the treaty of Hanover would engage the British nation in a war for the defence of the king's German dominions, contrary to an express provision made in the act of limitation: these arguments had lost all weight: the opposition was so inconsiderable, that the ministry had no reason to be in pain about any measure they should propose: an address was voted and delivered to his majesty, approving the alliance he had concluded at Hanover, in order to obviate and disappoint the dangerous views and consequences of the treaty of peace betwixt the emperor and the king of Spain; and promising to support his majesty against all insults and attacks that should be made on any of his territories, though not belonging to the crown of Great Britain: an address of the same kind was presented by the house of lords in a body: a bill was brought in, empowering the commissioners of the treasury to compound with Mr.

Richard Hambden, late treasurer of the navy, for a debt he owed to the crown, amounting to £48,000: this deficiency was occasioned by his embarking in the South-Sea scheme: the king recommended his petition; and the house complied with his request, in consideration of his great grandfather, the famous John Hambden, who made such a noble stand against the arbitrary measures of the first Charles.

27. The malt-tax was found so grievous to Scotland, that the people refused to pay it, and riots were excited in different parts of the kingdom: at Glasgow, the populace, armed with clubs and staves, rifled the house of Daniel Campbell, their representative in parliament, who had voted for the bill; and maltreated some excisemen, who attempted to take an account of the malt: general Wade, who commanded the forces in Scotland, had sent two companies of soldiers, under the command of captain Bushel, to prevent or appease a disturbance of this nature: that officer drew up his men in the street, where they were pelted with stones by the multitude, which he endeavored to disperse by firing among them without shot: this expedient failing, he ordered his men to load their pieces with ball; and at a time when the magistrates were advancing towards him in a body, to assist him with their advice and influence, he commanded the soldiers to fire four different ways, without the sanction of the civil authority: about twenty persons were killed or wounded on this occasion: the people, seeing so many victims fall, were exasperated beyond all sense of danger: they began to procure arms, and breathed nothing but defiance and revenge. Bushel thought proper to retreat to the castle of Dumbarton; and was pursued above five miles by the enraged multitude: general Wade, being informed of this transaction, assembled a body of forces; and being accompanied by Duncan Forbes, lord advocate, took possession of Glasgow: the magistrates were apprehended, and conveyed prisoners to Edinburgh, where the lords justiciary, having taken cognisance of the affair, declared them innocent; so that they were immediately discharged: Bushel was tried for murder, convicted, and condemned; but instead of undergoing the penalties of the law, he was indulged with a pardon, and promoted in the service: Daniel Campbell, having petitioned the house of commons

* Oldmixon. Annals. Debates in Parliament. Historical Memoirs. Tindal.

that he might be indemnified for the damage he had sustained from the rioters, a bill passed in his favor, granting him a certain sum to be raised from an imposition laid on all the beer and ale brewed in the city of Glasgow. The malt-tax was so sensibly felt in Scotland, that the convention of the royal burghs presented a remonstrance against it, as a grievous burden, which their country could not bear: petitions to the same purpose were delivered to the commons from different shires of that kingdom.⁹ On the twenty-fourth of March, 1726, the king sent a message to the house by Sir Paul Methuen, desiring an extraordinary supply, that he might be able to augment his maritime force, and concert such other measures as should be necessary in the present conjuncture: a debate ensued, but the majority complied with the demand: some members in the upper house complained that the message was not sent to both houses of parliament, and this suggestion gave rise to another debate, in which lord Bathurst and others made some melancholy reflections on the state of insignificance to which the peers of England were reduced: such remarks, however, were very little minded by the ministry, who had obtained a complete victory over all opposition: the supplies, ordinary and extraordinary, being granted, with every thing else which the court thought proper to ask, and several bills passed for the regulation of civil economy, the king dismissed the parliament on the twenty-fourth of May.

28. By this time Peter, the czar of Muscovy, was dead, and his empress Catharine had succeeded him on the Russian throne: this princess had begun to assemble forces in the neighborhood of Petersburg, and to prepare a formidable armament for a naval expedition: king George, concluding that her design was against Sweden, sent a strong squadron into the Baltic, under the command of Sir Charles Wager, in order to anticipate her views on his allies: the English

⁹ The duke of Wharton, having consumed his fortune in riot and extravagance, repaired to the court of Vienna, from whence he proceeded to Rome, and offered his service to the pretender: there he received the order of the garter, and the title of duke of Northumberland: he was sent by the chevalier de St. George with credentials to the court of Madrid, where he abjured the protestant religion, married a lady of the queen of Spain's bed-chamber, and obtained the rank and appointment of a lieutenant-colonel in the Spanish service.

fleet being joined at Copenhagen by a Danish squadron, alarmed the court of Russia, which immediately issued orders for reinforcing the garrisons of Wiburg, Cronstadt, Revel, and Riga. The English admiral, having had an audience of his Swedish majesty, steered towards Revel, and sent thither a lieutenant, with a letter from the king of Great Britain to the czarina: this was an expostulation, in which his majesty observed that he and his allies could not fail of being alarmed at her great preparations by sea and land: he complained that measures had been taken at her court in favor of the pretender; that his repeated instances for establishing a lasting friendship with the crown of Russia had been treated with neglect: and he gave her to understand, that he had ordered his admiral to prevent her ships from coming out of her harbors, should she persist in her resolution to execute the designs she had projected. The czarina, in her answer to the king, expressed her surprise that she had not received his majesty's letter until his fleet was at anchor before Revel; since it would have been more agreeable to the custom established among sovereigns, and to the amity which had so long subsisted between her kingdoms and the crown of Great Britain, to expostulate with her on her armament, and expect her answer, before he had proceeded to such an offensive measure: she assured him that nothing was farther from her thoughts than any designs to disturb the peace of the north; and with regard to the pretender, it was a frivolous and stale accusation, which had been frequently used as a pretext to cover all the unkind steps lately taken against the Russian empire. Sir Charles Wager continued in his station until he received certain intelligence that the Russian galleys were laid up in their winter harbor; then he set sail for the coast of Denmark, from whence he returned to England in the month of November.

29. King George, that he might not seem to convert all his attention to the affairs of the north, had equipped two other squadrons; one of which was destined for the West-Indies, under the command of admiral Hosier; the other, conducted by Sir John Jennings, having on board a body of land forces, sailed from St. Helens on the twentieth of July, entered the bay of St. Antonio, then visited Lisbon, from whence he directed his course to the Bay of Bulls near Cadiz, and cruised off Cape St. Mary so as to alarm the coast of Spain, and fill Madrid with consternation: yet he

committed no act of hostility; but was treated with great civility by the Spanish governor of Cadiz, who supplied him with refreshments. Rear-admiral Hosier, with seven ships of war, had sailed in April for the Spanish West-Indies, with instructions to block up the galleons in the ports of that country; or should they presume to come out, to seize and bring them to England: before his arrival at the Bastimentos, near Porto Bello, the treasure, consisting of above £6,000,000 sterling, had been unloaded, and carried back to Panama, in pursuance of an order sent by an advice-boat, which had the start of Hosier. This admiral lay inactive on that station, until he became the jest of the Spaniards: he returned to Jamaica, where he found means to reinforce his crews; then he stood over to Carthagena: the Spaniards had by this time seized the English South-Sea ship at Vera Cruz, together with all the vessels and effects belonging to that company: Hosier in vain demanded restitution; he took some Spanish ships by way of reprisal, and continued cruising in those seas, until the greater part of his men perished deplorably by the diseases of that unhealthy climate, and his ships were totally ruined by the worms. This brave officer, being restricted by his orders from obeying the dictates of his courage, seeing his best officers and men daily swept off by an outrageous distemper, and his ships exposed to inevitable destruction, is said to have died of a broken heart; while the people of England loudly clamored against this unfortunate expedition, in which so many lives were thrown away, and so much money expended, without the least advantage to the nation: it seems to have been a mean piratical scheme to rob the court of Spain of its expected treasure, even while a peace subsisted between the two nations: the ministry of Great Britain indeed alleged, that the Spanish king had entered into engagements in favor of the pretender.

30. The dukes of Ormond and Wharton, and the earl-marshal, were certainly at Madrid; and the duke de Ripperda, now prime-minister of Spain, dropped some expressions to the English envoy, that implied some such design, which, however, the court of Madrid positively denied. Ripperda, as a foreigner, fell a sacrifice to the jealousy of the Spanish ministers: he was suddenly dismissed from his employments, with a pension of 3000 pistoles: he forthwith took refuge in the house of Vandermeer, the Dutch ambassador, who was unwilling to be troubled with such a guest;

he therefore conveyed the duke in his coach to the house of colonel Stanhope, the British minister, whose protection he craved and obtained : nevertheless, he was dragged from thence by force, and committed prisoner to the castle of Segovia : he afterwards made his escape, and sheltered himself in England from the resentment of his catholic majesty. Colonel Stanhope complained of this violation of the law of nations, which the Spanish ministers endeavored to excuse : memorials and letters passed between the two courts, and every thing tended to a rupture : the king of Spain purchased ships of war ; began to make preparations for some important undertaking ; and assembled an army of 20,000 men at St. Roch, on pretence of rebuilding the old castle of Gibraltar : meanwhile the States-General and the king of Sweden acceded to the treaty of Hanover ; but the king of Prussia, though his majesty's son-in-law, was detached from the alliance by the emperor, with whom he contracted new engagements.

31. On the seventeenth of January, the British parliament was opened with a long, elaborate speech, importing that the proceedings and transactions of the emperor and king of Spain, and the secret offensive alliances concluded between them, had laid the foundations of a most exorbitant and formidable power ; that they were directly levelled against the most valuable and darling interests and privileges of the English nation, which must either give up Gibraltar to Spain, and acquiesce in the emperor's usurped exercise of commerce ; or resolve vigorously to defend their undoubted rights against those reciprocal engagements, contracted in defiance and violation of all national faith, and the most solemn treaties : he assured them, that one of those secret articles was the placing the pretender on the throne of Great Britain, and another the conquest of Gibraltar and Port Mahon : he affirmed that those combinations extended themselves into Russia, and that the English fleet seasonably prevented such designs as would have opened a way for the invasion of these kingdoms : he exhorted the commons to grant such supplies as should be necessary for the defence of their country, and for making good his engagements with the allies of Great Britain : he told them, that the king of Spain had ordered his minister residing in England to quit the kingdom ; and that he had left a memorial little short of a declaration, in which he insisted on the restitution of Gibraltar : he did not fail to touch the energetic strings which always moved their

passions; the balance of power in Europe, the security of the British commerce, the designs of a popish pretender, the present happy establishment, the religion, liberties, and properties of a protestant people. Such addresses of thanks were penned in both houses as the ministers were pleased to dictate: yet not without opposition from a minority, which was far from being formidable, though headed by chiefs of uncommon talents and resolution: the commons voted 20,000 seamen, besides 26,383 men for the land-service; and, to defray the extraordinary expense, a land-tax of four shillings in the pound was granted.

32. The house of lords having taken into consideration the letters and memorials between the ministers of Great Britain, France, and Spain, and the papers relating to the accession of the States-General to the treaty of Hanover, a warm debate ensued. Lord Bathurst took notice, that the accession of the States-General to the treaty was on condition that this their act should be approved and ratified by the king of Great Britain, the most christian king, and the king of Prussia; but that the minister of his Prussian majesty had refused to sign the act of accession, which was therefore of no effect: that if the court of France should, for the same reason, think itself disengaged from the Hanover alliance, Britain alone would be obliged to bear the burden of an expensive war against two of the greatest potentates of Europe: he said he could not see any just reason for a rupture with Spain; that indeed the duke de Ripperda might have dropped some indiscreet expressions; he was known to be a man of violent temper; and he had been solemnly disavowed by his catholic majesty; that, in the memorial left by the Spanish ambassador, he imputed the violent state of affairs between the two crowns to the ministers of England, and mentioned a positive promise made by the king of Great Britain for the restitution of Gibraltar; that methods of accommodation might be tried, before the kingdom engaged in a war which must be attended with dangerous consequences; that the nation was loaded with a debt of £50,000,000; and, in order to maintain such a war, would be obliged to raise £7,000,000 yearly; an annual sum by which the people would soon be exhausted: he observed, that in some papers laid before the house, mention was made of great sums distributed in divers places, to bring certain measures to bear: he declared, that for his own part, he had touched neither Spanish nor English gold; he was

neither a Spaniard nor a Frenchman, but a true Englishman; and so long as he had the honor to sit in that house, he would speak and act for the good of his country: he therefore desired their lordships seriously to consider the matter before them, which was of the last consequence and importance to the whole nation: he said nothing could be gained by the war should it prove successful, and every thing would be lost should it be unprosperous. He was answered by lord Townshend, who affirmed that his majesty had received positive and certain information with respect to the secret article of alliance between the courts of Vienna and Madrid in favor of the pretender, though the safety of the state did not permit him to lay these advices before the parliament. After much altercation, the majority resolved that the measures his majesty thought fit to take, were honorable, just, and necessary for preventing the execution of the dangerous engagements entered into in favor of the pretender; for preserving the dominions belonging to the crown of Great Britain by solemn treaties, and particularly those of Gibraltar and the island of Minorca; and for maintaining to his people their most valuable rights and privileges of commerce, and the peace and tranquillity of Europe: seventeen lords entered a protest against this resolution. Disputes of the same nature arose from the same subject in the lower house: lord Townshend had affirmed in the house of peers that no promise of restoring Gibraltar had been made; Sir Robert Walpole owned such a promise in the house of commons: a motion was made for an address, desiring these engagements might be laid before the house: another member moved for a copy of the memorial presented by Mr. Pointz to the king of Sweden, and for the secret offensive article between the courts of Vienna and Madrid: a third motion was made to address the king for such memorials and representations from the courts of Sweden and Denmark, as induced him, in the course of the preceding year, to send a squadron to the Baltic. In the account of the money granted for the service of the last year, there was an article of £125,000 charged in general terms, as issued out for other engagements and expenses, over and above such as were specified: Mr. Pulteney moved for an address on this subject; but each of these motions was rejected on a division; and the majority concurred in an address of thanks to his majesty for the great wisdom of his conduct: they expressed the most im-

plicit confidence in his goodness and discretion; they promised to support him in all such farther measures as he should find necessary and expedient for preventing a rupture, as well as for consulting the honor and advantage of these kingdoms.

33. His majesty's speech gave such umbrage to the court of Vienna, that Mr. Palms, the imperial resident at London, was ordered to present a warm memorial to the king, and afterwards to publish it to the whole nation. In this bold remonstrance, the king was charged with having declared from the throne, as certain and undoubted facts, several things that were either wrested, misrepresented, or void of all foundation: the memorialist affirmed, that the treaty of Vienna was built on the quadruple alliance; that the treaty of commerce was calculated to promote the mutual and lawful advantages of the subjects of both parties, agreeably to the law of nations; and in no respect prejudicial to the British nation: he declared, that there was no offensive alliance concluded between the two crowns; that the supposed article relating to the pretender was an absolute falsehood; that the insinuation with respect to the siege of Gibraltar was equally untrue, his master having made no engagements with the king of Spain but such as were specified in the treaty communicated to his Britannic majesty: he said, however, the hostilities notoriously committed in the West-Indies and elsewhere against the king of Spain, in violation of treaties, seemed to justify that prince's undertaking the siege of Gibraltar: finally, he demanded, in the name of his imperial majesty, suitable reparation for the injury his honor had sustained from such calumnious imputations. Both houses of parliament expressed their indignation at the insolence of this memorial, in an address to his majesty; and Mr. Palms was ordered to depart the kingdom: virulent declarations were presented by the ministers of the emperor and the king of Great Britain to the diet of the empire at Ratisbon; and such personal reflections retorted between these two potentates, that all hope of reconciliation vanished.

34. King George, in order to secure himself against the impending storm, entered into more strict engagements with the French king; and agreed to pay £50,000 for three years to the king of Sweden, in consideration of that prince's holding in readiness a body of 10,000 troops for the occasions of the alliance: he concluded a fresh treaty with the

king of Denmark, who promised to furnish a certain number of auxiliaries, on account of a large subsidy granted by the king of France: the proportions of troops to be sent into the field in case of a rupture were ascertained; his Britannic majesty engaged for 24,000 men, and a strong squadron to be sent to the Baltic: he made a convention with the prince of Hesse-Cassel, who undertook to provide 8000 infantry and 4000 horse, in consideration of £74,000, to be paid by Great Britain immediately; and £50,000 more in case the troops should be required, besides their pay and subsistence.¹⁰ Such was the fruit of all the alliances so industriously planned since the accession of king George to the throne of Great Britain: in the day of his trouble, the king of Prussia, who had espoused his daughter, deserted his interest, and the States-General stood aloof: for the security of his German dominions, he had recourse to the king of France, who was a precarious ally; to the kings of Sweden and Denmark, and the principality of Hesse-Cassel; but none of these powers would contribute their assistance without being gratified with exorbitant subsidies, though the danger was common, and the efforts ought to have been equal: instead of allies, they professed themselves mercenaries: Great Britain paid them for the defence of their own dominions; she moreover undertook to maintain a powerful fleet for their safety. Is there any Briton so weak as to think, or so fool-hardy as to affirm, that this was a British quarrel?

35. For the support of those expensive treaties, Mr. Scroope, secretary of the treasury, moved in the house of commons [1727.] that in the malt-tax bill they should insert a clause of appropriation, empowering the king to apply such sums as should be necessary for defraying the expenses and engagements which had been, or should be made, before the twenty-fifth of September, in concerting such measures as he should think most conducive to the security of trade, and restoring the peace of Europe. To little purpose did the members in the opposition urge that this method of asking and granting supplies was unparliamentary; that such a clause would render ineffectual that appropriation of the public money, which the wisdom of all parliaments had thought a necessary security against misapplication, which

¹⁰ Annals. Debates in Parliament. Tindal. Lives of the Admirals.

was the more to be feared, as no provision was made to call any person to account for the money that should be disposed of by virtue of this clause; that great sums had already been granted; that such an unlimited power ought never to be given in a free government; that such a confidence in the crown might, through the influence of evil ministers, be attended with the most dangerous consequences; that the constitution could not be preserved, but by a strict adherence to those essential parliamentary forms of granting supplies on estimates, and of appropriating these supplies to services and occasions publicly avowed and judged necessary; that such clauses, if not seasonably checked, would become so frequent, as in time to lodge in the crown and in the ministers an absolute and uncontrollable power of raising money on the people, which by the constitution is, and with safety can only be, lodged in the whole legislature: the motion was carried, the clause added, and the bill passed through the other house without amendment, though not without opposition. Notwithstanding this vote of credit, Sir William Yonge moved, that towards the supply granted to the king, the sum of £370,000 should be raised by loans on exchequer-bills, to be charged on the surplus of the duties on coal and culm, which was reserved for the parliament's disposal: though this motion was vigorously opposed by Sir Joseph Jekyl and Mr. Pulteney, as a dangerous deviation from several votes and acts of parliament, by which the exceedings of the public funds were appropriated to the discharge of the national debt, or to the increase of the sinking funds, it was carried by the majority.

36. On the fifteenth of May the parliament was prorogued, after the king had acknowledged their zeal, liberality, and despatch; and given them to understand that the siege of Gibraltar was actually begun: the trenches were opened before this fortress on the eleventh of February, by the *condé de las Torres*, at the head of 20,000 men: the place was well provided for a defence; and the old earl of Portmore, who was governor, embarked with a reinforcement from England, under convoy of a fleet commanded by Sir Charles Wager: he arrived at Gibraltar in the beginning of April, where he landed the troops, with a great quantity of ammunition, warlike stores, and four and twenty pieces of cannon: at the same time, 500 men arrived from Minorca; so that the garrison amounted to 6000, plentifully supplied with fresh pro-

visions from the coast of Barbary, and treated the efforts of the besiegers with great contempt. The States-General, being apprehensive of an attempt on their barrier in the Netherlands, desired the king would hold in readiness the 10,000 auxiliaries stipulated in the treaty: these were immediately prepared for embarkation, and the forces of England were augmented with thirty new-raised companies: Sir John Norris set sail with a powerful fleet from the Baltic, and was joined by a Danish squadron; but the czarina dying on the seventeenth of May, he had no occasion to commit hostilities, as the Russian armament was laid aside.

37. Meanwhile the powers at variance, though extremely irritated against each other, were all equally averse to a war that might again embroil all Europe: the king of France interposed his mediation, which was conducted by the duke de Richelieu, his ambassador at Vienna: plans and counterplans of pacification were proposed between the two crowns and the allies: at length, all parties agreed to twelve preliminary articles, which were signed in May at Paris by the ministers of the Hanover alliance; and afterwards at Vienna by the imperial and Spanish ambassadors: these imported, that hostilities should immediately cease; that the charter of the Ostend company should be suspended for seven years; and that a congress should in four months be opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, for adjusting all differences, and consolidating the peace of Europe: this congress was afterwards transferred to Soissons, for the convenience of the French minister, whose presence was necessary at court. The siege of Gibraltar was raised, after it had lasted four months, during which the Spaniards lost a great number of men by sickness, while the garrison sustained very little damage: the court of Madrid, however, started some new difficulties, and for some time would not consent to the restitution of the South-Sea ship, which had been detained at Vera Cruz, in the West-Indies, so that Sir Charles Wager continued to cruise on the coast of Spain: but these objections were removed in the sequel.

38. King George, having appointed a regency, embarked at Greenwich on the third of June; and landing in Holland on the seventh, set out on his journey to Hanover: he was suddenly seized with a paralytic disorder on the road: he forthwith lost the faculty of speech, became lethargic, and

was conveyed in a state of insensibility to Osnaburg : there he expired on Sunday, the eleventh of June, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and in the thirteenth of his reign. George I. was plain and simple in his person and address ; grave and composed in his deportment, though easy, familiar, and facetious in his hours of relaxation : before he ascended the throne of Great Britain, he had acquired the character of a circumspect general, a just and merciful prince, a wise politician, who perfectly understood and steadily pursued his own interest : with these qualities, it cannot be doubted but that he came to England extremely well disposed to govern his new subjects according to the maxims of the British constitution and the genius of the people ; and if ever he seemed to deviate from these principles, we may take it for granted, that he was misled by the venal suggestions of a ministry, whose power and influence were founded on corruption.¹¹

¹¹ George I. married the princess Sophia Dorothy, daughter and heiress of the duke of Zell, by whom he had king George II. and the late queen of Prussia : the king's body was conveyed to Hanover, and interred among his ancestors. From the death of Charles II. to this period, England had made a considerable figure in every branch of literature : Dr. Atterbury and Dr. Clarke distinguished themselves in divinity ; Mr. Whiston wrote in defence of Arianism ; John Locke shone forth the great restorer of human reason ; the earl of Shaftesbury raised an elegant, though feeble system of moral philosophy ; Berkeley, afterwards bishop of Cloyne in Ireland, surpassed all his contemporaries in subtilty and variety of metaphysical arguments, as well as in the art of deduction ; lord Bolingbroke's talents as a metaphysician have been questioned since his posthumous works appeared ; great progress was made in mathematics and astronomy by Wallis, Halley and Flamstead ; the art of medicine owed some valuable improvements to the classical Dr. Friend and the elegant Dr. Mead. Among the poets of this era we number John Philips, author of a didactic poem called Cider, a performance of real merit ; he lived and died in obscurity ; William Congreve, celebrated for his comedies, which are not so famous for strength of character and power of humor, as for wit, elegance, and regularity ; Vanburgh, who wrote with more nature and fire, though with far less art and precision ; Steele, who in his comedies successfully engrafted modern characters on the ancient drama ; Farquhar, who drew his pictures from fancy rather than from nature, and whose chief merit consists in the agreeable pertness and vivacity of his dialogue ; Addison, whose fame as a poet greatly exceeded his genius, which was cold and enervate ; though he yielded to none in the character of an essayist, either for style or matter ; Swift,

whose muse seems to have been mere misanthropy; he was a cynic rather than a poet, and his natural dryness and sarcastic severity would have been unpleasing, had not he qualified them, by adopting the extravagant humor of Lucian and Rabelais; Prior, lively, familiar, and amusing; Rowe, solemn, florid, and declamatory; Pope, the prince of lyric poetry, unrivalled in satire, ethics, and polished versification; the agreeable Parnel; the wild, the witty, and the whimsical Garth; Gay, whose fables may vie with those of La Fontaine in native humor, ease, and simplicity; and whose genius for pastoral was truly original. Dr. Bentley stood foremost in the list of critics and commentators. Sir Christopher Wren raised some noble monuments of architecture. The most remarkable political writers were Davenant, Hare, Swift, Steele, Addison, Bolingbroke, and Trenchard.

CHAP. XV.

GEORGE II.—1727.

1. George II. ascends the throne of Great Britain—2. Characters of the principal persons concerned in the ministry—3. Debates in parliament concerning the civil-list—4. Changes and promotions—5. New parliament—6. Violent dispute concerning the national debt—7. Vote of credit—8. A double marriage between the houses of Spain and Portugal—9. Liberality of the commons—10. Debates on the subsidies of Hesse-Cassel and Wolfenbuttle—11. Committee for inspecting the jails—12. Address touching the Spanish depredations—13. A sum voted to the king on account of arrears due on the civil-list revenue—14. Proceedings in the house of lords—15. Wise conduct of the Irish parliament—16. Abdication of the king of Sardinia. Death of pope Benedict XIII.—17. Substance of the king's speech to both houses—18. Objections to the treaty of Seville in the house of lords—19. Opposition in the lower house to a standing army—20. Bill prohibiting loans to foreign princes or states—21. Charter of the East-India company prolonged—22. The emperor resents the treaty of Seville—23. Seven Indian chiefs arrive in England. Revolution at Constantinople—24. England infested with robbers, assassins, and incendiaries—25. Bill against pensioners sitting as members in the house of commons—26. Treaty of Vienna—27. Death of the duke of Parma—28. Don Carlos takes possession of his territories—29. France distracted by religious disputes—30. The ministry violently opposed in parliament—31. Debate on a standing army—32. Account of the charitable corporation—33. Revival of the salt-tax—34. Mr. Pulteney's name struck out of the list of privy-counsellors—35. The king sets out for Hanover.

1. At the accession of George II. the nation had great reason to wish for an alteration of measures: the public debt, notwithstanding the boasted economy and management of the ministers; notwithstanding the sinking fund, which had been extolled as a growing treasure sacred to the discharge of national encumbrances, was now increased to £50,261,206. 19s. 8½d.: the kingdom was bewildered in a labyrinth of treaties and conventions, by which it stood engaged in pecuniary subsidies to many powers on the continent, with whom its real interests could never be connected: the wealth of the nation had been lavished on those

foreign connexions, on unnecessary wars, and fruitless expeditions: dangerous encroachments had been made on the constitution by the repeal of the act for triennial parliaments, by frequent suspensions of the habeas-corpus act on frivolous occasions, by repealing clauses in the act of settlement, by votes of credit, by habituating the people to a standing army, and, above all, by establishing a system of corruption, which at all times would secure a majority in parliament: the nature of prerogative, by which the liberties of the nation had formerly been often endangered, was now so well understood, and so securely restrained, that it could no longer be used for the same oppressive purposes; besides, an avowed extension of the prerogative required more ability, courage, and resolution than the present ministry could exert: they understood their own strength, and had recourse to a more safe and effectual expedient: the vice, luxury, and prostitution of the age, the almost total extinction of sentiment, honor, and public spirit had prepared the minds of men for slavery and corruption: the means were in the hands of the ministry; the public treasure was at their devotion; they multiplied places and pensions, to increase the number of their dependents; they squandered away the money of the nation without taste, discernment, decency, or remorse; they enlisted an army of the most abandoned emissaries, whom they employed to vindicate the worst measures, in the face of truth, common sense, and common honesty; and they did not fail to stigmatise as Jacobites and enemies to the government all those who presumed to question the merit of their administration.

2. The supreme direction of affairs was not yet engrossed by a single minister: lord Townshend had the reputation of conducting the external transactions relating to treaties and negociations: he is said to have understood that province, though he did not always follow the dictates of his own understanding: he possessed an extensive fund of knowledge, and was well acquainted with the functions of his office. The duke of Newcastle, his colleague, was not remarkable for any of these qualifications: he owed his promotion to his uncommon zeal for the illustrious house of Hanover, and to the strength of his interest in parliament, rather than to his judgment, precision, or any other intellectual merit. Lord Carteret, who may be counted an auxiliary, though not immediately concerned in the administration, had distinguished himself in the character of envoy at several courts

in Europe : he had attained an intimate knowlege of all the different interests and connexions subsisting among the powers of the continent, and he infinitely surpassed all the ministers in learning and capacity : he was indeed the only man of genius employed under this government : he spoke with ease and propriety ; his conceptions were just and lively, his inferences bold, his counsels vigorous and warm : yet he depreciated his talents, by acting in a subordinate character to those whom he despised ; and seemed to look on the pernicious measures of a bad ministry with silent contempt rather than with avowed detestation. The interior government of Great Britain was chiefly managed by Sir Robert Walpole, a man of extraordinary talents, who had from low beginnings raised himself to the head of the treasury : having obtained a seat in the lower house, he declared himself one of the most forward partisans of the whig faction : he was endued with a species of eloquence, which, though neither nervous nor eloquent, flowed with great facility ; and was so plausible on all subjects, that even when he misrepresented the truth, whether from ignorance or design, he seldom failed to persuade that part of his audience for whose hearing his harangue was chiefly intended : he was well acquainted with the nature of the public funds, and understood the whole mystery of stock-jobbing : this knowlege produced a connexion between him and the money-corporations, which served to enhance his importance : he perceived the bulk of mankind were actuated by a sordid thirst of lucre ; he had sagacity enough to convert the degeneracy of the times to his own advantage ; and on this, and this alone, he founded the whole superstructure of his subsequent administration : in the late reign he had, by dint of speaking decisively to every question, by boldly impeaching the conduct of the tory ministers, by his activity in elections, and engaging as a projector in the schemes of the moneyed interest, become a leading member in the house of commons : by his sufferings under the tory parliament he attained the rank of martyr to his party ; his interest, his reputation, and his presumption daily increased ; he opposed Sunderland as his rival in power, and headed a dangerous defection from the ministry, which evinced the greatness of his influence and authority : he had the glory of being principally concerned in effecting a reconciliation between the late king and the prince of Wales : then he was re-associated in the administration with additional credit ; and,

from the death of the earls of Sunderland and Stanhope, he had been making long strides towards the office of prime minister: he knew the maxims he had adopted would subject him to the hatred, the ridicule, and reproach of some individuals, who had not yet resigned all sentiments of patriotism nor all views of opposition; but the number of these was inconsiderable, when compared to that which constituted the body of the community; and he would not suffer the consideration of such antagonists to come in competition with his schemes of power, affluence, and authority: nevertheless, low as he had humbled anti-ministerial association, it required all his artifice to elude, all his patience and natural phlegm to bear the powerful arguments that were urged, and the keen satire that was exercised against his measures and management by a few members in the opposition. Sir William Wyndham possessed all the energy of elocution; Mr. Shippen was calm, intrepid, shrewd, and sarcastic; Mr. W. Pulteney inherited from nature a good understanding, which he had studiously cultivated: he was one of the most learned members in the house of commons; extremely well qualified to judge of literary productions; well read in history and politics; deeply skilled in the British constitution, the detail of government, and the nature of the finances: he spoke with freedom, fluency, and uncommon warmth of declamation, which was said to be the effect of personal animosity to Sir Robert Walpole, with whom he had been formerly connected.

3. An express arriving on the fourteenth of June, with an account of the king's death, his late majesty, king George II. repaired from Richmond, where he received this intelligence, to Leicester-house; and the members of the privy-council being assembled, were sworn anew: the king declared his firm purpose to preserve the constitution in church and state, and to cultivate those alliances which his father had made with foreign princes: at the same time, he took and subscribed the oath for the security of the church of Scotland, as required by the act of union: next day he was proclaimed king of Great Britain: the parliament assembled in pursuance of the act made for that purpose, but was immediately prorogued by commission to the twenty-seventh of the month: all the great officers of state continued in their places: Sir Robert Walpole kept possession of the treasury, and the system of politics which the late king had established underwent no sort of alteration. The king, in his speech to

both houses at the opening of the session, professed a fixed resolution to merit the love and affection of his people, by maintaining them in the full enjoyment of their religious and civil rights: he promised to lessen the public expense as soon as the circumstances of affairs would permit: he observed to the commons, that the grant of the greatest part of the civil-list revenues was now determined, and that it would be necessary for them to make a new provision for the support of him and his family: lastly, he recommended it to both houses to despatch the business that should be necessarily brought before them, as the season of the year and the circumstances of time required their presence in the country: addresses of condolence and congratulation being drawn up and presented, the commons, in a committee of the whole house, took into consideration a motion for a supply to his majesty. Sir Robert Walpole, having observed that the annual sum of £700,000, granted to and settled on the late king, had fallen short every year, and that his present majesty's expenses were likely to increase, by reason of the largeness of his family, moved that the intire revenues of the civil-list, which produced about £800,000 per annum, should be settled on the king during his life. Mr. Shippen opposed this motion, as inconsistent with the trust reposed in them as representatives of the people, who ought to be very frugal in exercising the right of giving away the public money: he said, the sum of £700,000 was not obtained for his late majesty without a long and solemn debate; and every member who contended for it at that time, allowed it to be an ample royal revenue; that, although his majesty's family should be enlarged, a circumstance which had been urged as one reason for the motion, he presumed the appointments of prince Frederic would be much inferior to those settled on his present majesty when he was prince of Wales; besides, it was to be hoped that many personal, many particular expenses in the late reign, especially those for frequent journeys to Hanover, would be discontinued, and intirely cease: he observed, that the civil-list branches in the queen's reign did not often exceed the sum of £550,000: nevertheless, she called on her parliament but once, in a reign of thirteen years, to pay the debts contracted in her civil government; and these were occasioned by the unparalleled instances of her piety and generosity: she gave the first-fruits and tenths, arising to £19,000 a year, as an augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy;

she bestowed £5000 per annum out of the post-office on the duke of Marlborough; she suffered £700 to be charged weekly on the same office, for the service of the public; she expended several hundred thousand pounds in building the castle at Blenheim; she allowed £4000 annually to prince Charles of Denmark; she sustained great losses by the tin contract; she supported the poor palatines; she exhibited many other proofs of royal bounty; and immediately before her death she had formed a plan of retrenchment, which would have reduced her yearly expenses to £459,941: he affirmed, that £1,000,000 a year would not be sufficient to carry on the exorbitant expenses, so often and so justly complained of in the house of commons; that over and above the yearly allowance of £700,000, many occasional taxes, many excessive sums were raised, and all sunk in the bottomless gulf of secret service: £250,000 were raised in defiance of the ancient parliamentary methods, to secure the kingdom from a Swedish invasion: then the two insurance-offices were erected, and paid near £300,000 for their charters: our enmity with Sweden being changed into alliance, a subsidy of £72,000 was implicitly granted, to fulfil some secret engagement with that crown: £24,000 were given for burning merchant ships arrived from infected places, though the goods, which ought to have been destroyed for the public safety, were afterwards privately sold: a sum of £500,000 was demanded and granted for paying the debts of the civil-list, and his majesty declared by message he was resolved to retrench his expenses for the future: notwithstanding this resolution, in less than four years, a new demand of the like sum was made and granted, to discharge new encumbrances; the Spanish ships of war, which admiral Byng took in the Mediterranean, were sold for a considerable sum of money; £125,000 were granted in the last session, to be secretly disposed of for the public utility; and there was still a debt in the civil government, amounting to above £600,000: he took notice, that this amazing extravagance happened under the conduct of persons pretending to surpass all their predecessors in the knowledge and care of the public revenue; that as none of these sums had been accounted for, they were, in all probability, employed in services not fit to be owned: he said, he heartily wished that time, the great discoverer of hidden truths and concealed iniquities, might produce a list of all such as had been perverted from their public duty by private

pensions; who had been the hired slaves and the corrupt instruments of a profuse and vain-glorious administration: he proposed, that instead of granting an addition to the civil-list, they should restrict that revenue to a certain sum, by concluding the question with these words; 'in like manner as they were granted and continued to his late majesty, so as to make up the clear yearly sum of £700,000.' To these particulars, which were indeed unanswerable, no reply was made: even this mark of decency was laid aside as idle and superfluous: the house agreed to the motion, and a bill was brought in for the better support of his majesty's household. The commons, having received a message from the king, desiring they would make a farther provision for the queen his consort, resolved, that in case she should survive his majesty, the sum of £100,000 should be settled on her for life, charged on the revenues of the civil-list, together with his majesty's palace of Somerset-house, and Richmond Old-park: a bill was formed on this resolution, which, as well as the other, passed both houses, and received the royal assent on the seventeenth of July, when the king, in a speech to both houses, expressed his satisfaction with their conduct; and congratulated them on the wealth and glory of the nation, by which they had acquired such weight in holding the balance of Europe: then the lord chancellor prorogued the parliament to the twenty-ninth of August; but on the seventh of that month a proclamation was issued for dissolving this and convoking another.

4. In the interim some changes were made in different departments of civil economy: lord viscount Torrington was placed at the head of the admiralty; the earl of Westmoreland was appointed first lord-commissioner of trade and plantations; Philip Dormer Stanhope, earl of Chesterfield, a nobleman remarkable for his wit, eloquence, and polished manners, was nominated ambassador to the Hague: the privy-council being dissolved, another was appointed of the members then present: the duke of Devonshire was dignified with the place of president, and the duke of St. Albans was appointed master of the horse. On the eleventh of October the coronation of the king and queen was performed at Westminster-abbey with the usual solemnity:¹² by this time

¹² King George II. ascended the throne in the forty-fourth year of his age; on the second of September, 1705, he espoused the princess Wilhelmina Charlotte Caroline, daughter to John Frederic, marquis of Brandenburg Anspach, by whom he had two sons;

the courts of France and Spain were perfectly reconciled ; all Europe was freed from the calamities of war ; and the peace of Great Britain suffered no interruption, except from some transient tumults among the tanners of Cornwall, who, being provoked by a scarcity of corn, rose in arms, and plundered the granaries of that county.

5. The elections in England and Scotland for the parliament having succeeded on the new system, according to the wishes of the ministry, the two houses met on the twenty-third of January, 1728, when the commons unanimously chose for their speaker Arthur Onslow, Esq. knight of the shire for Surrey, a gentleman of extensive knowledge, worth, and probity ; grave, eloquent, venerable, and every way qualified for the discharge of that honorable and important office. The king, in his speech to this new parliament, declared, that by the last advices from abroad, he had reason to hope the difficulties which had hitherto retarded the execution of the preliminaries and the opening of the congress would soon be intirely removed ; in the mean time, he represented the absolute necessity of continuing the preparation, which had hitherto secured the nation, and prevented an open rupture in Europe : he promised, that his first care should be to reduce, from time to time, the expense of the public, as often and as soon as the interest and safety of his people would permit such reduction : he expressed an earnest desire of seeing the foundation laid of an effectual scheme for the increase and encouragement of seamen in general, that they might be invited rather than compelled into the service of their country : finally, he recommended unanimity, zeal, and despatch of the public business : those speeches, penned by the minister, were composèd with a view to soothe the minds of the people into an immediate concurrence with the measures of the government ; but without any intention of performing those promises of economy, reformation, and national advantage. The two houses seemed to vie with each other in expressions of applause and affection to his majesty : the lords, in their address, hailed him as the best of kings, and true

Frederic Louis, prince of Wales, born at Hanover on the thirty-first of January, 1707 ; and William Augustus, born at London, on the fifteenth of April, 1721 : she had likewise borne four princesses, namely, Anne, Amelia, Caroline, Mary ; and was afterwards delivered of Louisa, married in the sequel to the king of Denmark.

father of his country: the commons expressed the warmest sense of gratitude for the blessings they enjoyed in his reign, though it was not yet eight months old: they approved of all his transactions; they promised to support him in all his undertakings; and declared they would cheerfully grant whatever supplies should be wanted for the public service: having considered the estimates which were laid before them by order of his majesty, they voted 22,955 men for guards and garrisons, and 15,000 seamen for the service of the ensuing year: they granted £230,923 for the maintenance of 12,000 Hessian troops; a subsidy of £50,000 to the king of Sweden, and half that sum to the duke of Brunswick Wolfenbüttele.¹³ The expense of the year amounted to £4,000,000, raised by a land-tax of three shillings in the pound, a malt-tax, and by borrowing of the Bank £1,750,000, for which annuities, to the amount of £70,000, to be raised by duties on coals imported in the city of London, were granted to that corporation.

6. All these sums, however, were not granted without question: the number of land-forces occasioned a debate; and the Hessian auxiliaries were not allowed without dispute and opposition: when they deliberated on the loan of the Bank, Mr. W. Pulteney observed, that the shifting of funds was but perpetuating taxes, and putting off the evil day; that notwithstanding the great merit which some persons had built on the sinking fund, it appeared that the national debt had been increased since the setting up that pompous project: some warm altercation passed between him and Sir Robert Walpole on this subject: the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London presented a petition, setting forth, that the duties already laid on coals and culm imported into London affected the trade of that city only; that the inequality of the burden was a great discouragement to their manufactures, and a hardship on all the trading inhabitants: the petition was rejected, and the tax imposed. The house, having addressed the king for a particular and distinct account of the distribution of £250,000, charged to have been issued for securing the

¹³ Nothing could be a greater burlesque on negotiation than this treaty of alliance concluded with the petty duke of Wolfenbüttele, who very gravely guaranties to his Britannic majesty the possession of his three kingdoms, and obliges himself to supply his majesty with 5000 men, in consideration of an annual subsidy of £25,000 for four years.

trade and navigation of the kingdom, and preserving and restoring the peace of Europe, he declined granting their request, but signified in general, that part of the money had been issued and disbursed by his late majesty, and the remainder by himself, for carrying on the same necessary services, which required the greatest secrecy: such a message, in the reign of king William, would have raised a dangerous flame in the house of commons. Mr. W. Pulteney inveighed against such a vague and general way of accounting for the public money, as tending to render parliaments altogether insignificant, to cover embezzlements, and to screen corrupt and rapacious ministers. The commons, having taken into consideration the state of the national debt, examined the accounts, and interrogated the proper officers: a motion was made by a court member, that it appeared the moneys already issued and applied towards discharging the national debts, together with a sum to be issued at Lady-day, amounted to £6,648,762. 5s. 1½d. In vain did the leaders of the opposition expose the fallacious tendency of this motion; in vain did they demonstrate the fraudulent artifice used in drawing up the accounts: the motion was carried, and several resolutions were taken on the state of the national debts: in the particular account of these debts, on which the house resolved to form a representation to his majesty, an article of £300,000 relating to the duty on wrought plate was totally omitted: this extraordinary omission being discovered, gave rise to a very warm debate, and to very severe reflections against those who superintended the public accounts: this error being rectified, a committee appointed for the purpose drew up the representations, containing a particular detail of the national debts discharged and incurred since the twenty-fifth of December, in the year 1716, with a state of the sinking fund and of the public credit: the draught, being approved by the house, was presented to the king, who received it graciously: he took this opportunity of saying, that the provision made for gradually discharging the national debt was now become so certain and considerable, that nothing but some unforeseen event could alter or diminish it; a circumstance, that afforded the fairest prospect of seeing the old debts discharged without any necessity of incurring new encumbrances.

7. This answer, fraught with many other expressions of fatherly tenderness for his people, paved the way for a

message to the house, demanding a vote of credit to fulfil certain engagements, entered into and concerted, with the advice and concurrence of the last parliament, for securing the trade and navigation of the kingdom, and for restoring and preserving the peace of Europe: though a debate ensued on this message, the majority resolved that an address should be presented to his majesty, declaring the duty and fidelity of the commons, their intire confidence in his royal care and goodness, and their readiness to enable his majesty to fulfil his engagements: a vote of credit passed accordingly. During this session, the peers were chiefly employed in examining copies of several treaties and alliances which the king submitted to their perusal: they likewise prepared a bill for amending the statute of limitation, which however did not pass into a law: they considered the state of the national debt, a subject fruitful of debates: they passed the mutiny bill, and those that were sent up from the commons, touching the supplies; together with an act, obliging ships arriving from infected places to perform quarantine; and some others of a more private nature: these bills having received the royal assent, the king closed the session on the twenty-eighth of May, when he thanked the commons for the effectual supplies they had raised, and in particular, for having empowered him to borrow £500,000 for the discharge of wages due to the seamen employed in the navy.

8. England was at this period quite barren of remarkable events: the king's uncle, Ernest Augustus, prince of Brunswick, duke of York, and bishop of Osnaburg, died on the third of August, and was succeeded in the bishopric by the elector of Cologne, according to the pactum by which Osnaburg is alternately possessed by the house of Brunswick and that elector. In the beginning of December, his majesty's eldest son, prince Frederic, arrived in England from Hanover, where he had hitherto resided, was introduced into the privy-council, and created prince of Wales: Signor Como, resident from the duke of Parma, was ordered to quit the kingdom, because his master paid to the pretender the honors due to the king of Great Britain. The congress opened at Soissons, for determining all disputes among the powers of Europe, proved ineffectual: such difficulties occurred in settling and reconciling so many different pretensions and interests, that the contracting parties in the alliance of Hanover proposed a provisional treaty, concerning which no definitive answer was given as yet by the

courts of Vienna and Madrid: the fate of Europe, therefore, continued in suspense; the English fleet lay inactive and rotting in the West-Indies; the sailors perished miserably, without daring to avenge their country's wrongs; while the Spanish cruisers committed depredations with impunity on the commerce of Great Britain. The court of Spain, at this juncture, seemed cold and indifferent with regard to a pacification with England: it had renewed a good understanding with France, and now strengthened its interest by a double alliance of marriage with the royal family of Portugal: the infanta of this house was betrothed to the prince of Asturias; while the Spanish infanta, formerly affianced to the French king, was now matched with the prince of Brazil, eldest son of his Portuguese majesty: in the month of January, the two courts met in a wooden house built over the little river Coya, that separates the two kingdoms; and there the princesses were exchanged.

9. The parliament of Great Britain meeting according to their last prorogation on the twenty-first of January, the king in his speech communicated the nature of the negotiation at the congress: he demanded such supplies as might enable him to act vigorously in concert with his allies, provided his endeavors to establish an advantageous peace should miscarry; and he hinted that the dilatory conduct of the courts of Vienna and Madrid proceeded in a great measure from the hopes that were given of creating discontents and divisions among the subjects of Great Britain: this suggestion was a ministerial artifice to inflame the zeal and resentment of the nation, and intimidate the members in the opposition: accordingly the hint was pursued; and in the addresses from both houses, that could not fail of being agreeable, considering the manner in which they were dictated, particular notice was taken of this article: both peers and commons expressed their detestation and abhorrence of those, who by such base and unnatural artifices suggested the means of distressing their country, and clamored at the inconveniences which they themselves had occasioned: in these addresses likewise the parliament congratulated his majesty on the arrival of the prince of Wales in his British dominions; and the commons sent a particular compliment to his royal highness on that occasion: the estimates having been examined in the usual form, the house voted 15,000 seamen for the ensuing year; but the motion for continuing the same number of land forces which had been allowed in

the preceding year was not carried without dispute: all the arguments against a standing army in time of peace, as inconsistent with the British constitution, and dangerous to the liberties of the people, were repeated with great vivacity by Mr. Shippen and Mr. W. Pulteney: these, however, were answered, and represented as absurd, by Mr. Horace Walpole and Mr. Doddington, two staunch adherents of the minister: the first had, in despite of nature, been employed in different negotiations: he was blunt, awkward, and slovenly; an orator without eloquence, an ambassador without dignity, and a plenipotentiary without address: the other had natural parts and acquired knowledge; spoke with confidence; and in dispute was vain, sarcastic, petulant, and verbose.

10. The subsidies to Sweden, Hesse-Cassel, and Wolfenbottle were continued, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Sir Joseph Jekyl, Mr. Lutwyche, and Mr. Pulteney; which last observed, that as the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the duke of Brunswick Wolfenbottle usually maintained a certain number of troops in their pay, it was but reasonable that Great Britain should defray no more than the expense of the additional forces which those powers had raised, in consequence of their conventions with the king of England: Sir Robert Walpole, perceiving that this remark made an impression on the house, thought it necessary to vindicate his measure: he expatiated on the wisdom of the late king, in concluding the Hanover alliance: he affirmed, that the convention with Hesse-Cassel had prevented a war in the empire, for which the court of Vienna had made great preparations; that the emperor had not only augmented his own forces by the help of Spanish subsidies, but also retained the troops of three electors; and if he had not been overawed by the Hessians, would certainly have rejected the preliminaries, and all other advances towards a pacification: that therefore they ought not to grudge an expense which had already proved so beneficial to the tranquillity of Europe. Sir Joseph Jekyl replied, that whatever gloss might be put on such measures, they were repugnant to the maxims by which England in former times had steered and squared its conduct with relation to its interest abroad; that the navy was the natural strength of Great Britain, its best defence and security: but if, in order to avoid a war, they should be so free-hearted as to buy and maintain the forces of foreign princes, they were never like to see an end of such

extravagant expenses: this gentleman, who exercised the office of master of the rolls, had approved himself a zealous defender of whig principles, was an able lawyer, a sensible speaker, and a conscientious patriot. The supplies were raised by a continuation of the land-tax, the duties on malt, cider, and perry, an additional imposition on unmalted corn used in distilling, and by sale of annuities to the Bank not exceeding £50,000 per annum.

11. Petitions were delivered to the house of commons from the merchants of London, Liverpool, and Bristol, complaining of the interruptions they had suffered in their trade for several years, by the depredations of the Spaniards in the West-Indies: these being considered, the house ordered the lords of the admiralty to produce the other memorials of the same kind which they had received, that they might be laid before the congress at Soissons: then they addressed his majesty for copies of all the letters and instructions which had been sent to admiral Hosier, and those who succeeded him in the command of the West-India squadron. Mr. Oglethorpe, having been informed of shocking cruelties and oppressions exercised by jailers on their prisoners, moved for an examination into these practices, and was chosen chairman of a committee appointed to inquire into the state of the jails of the kingdom: they began with the Fleet prison, which they visited in a body: there they found Sir William Rich, bart. loaded with irons, by order of Bambridge the warden, to whom he had given some slight cause of offence: they made a discovery of many inhuman barbarities which had been committed by that ruffian; and detected the most iniquitous scenes of fraud, villany, and extortion: when the report was made by the committee, the house unanimously resolved, that Thomas Bambridge, acting warden of the Fleet, had wilfully permitted several debtors to escape; had been guilty of the most notorious breaches of trust, great extortions, and the highest crimes and misdemeanors in the execution of his office; that he had arbitrarily and unlawfully loaded with irons, put into dungeons, and destroyed prisoners for debt, under his charge, treating them in the most barbarous and cruel manner, in high violation and contempt of the laws of the kingdom: John Huggins, Esq. who had been warden of the Fleet prison, was subjected to a resolution of the same nature. The house presented an address to the king, desiring he would direct his attorney-general forthwith to prosecute these persons and their

accomplices, who were committed prisoners to Newgate: a bill was brought in, disabling Bambridge to execute the office of warden; another for the better regulating the prison of the Fleet, and for the more effectually preventing and punishing arbitrary and illegal practices of the warden of the said prison.¹⁴

12. Other merchants complained by petition of the losses sustained by the Spaniards: the house, in a grand committee, deliberated on this subject, inquired into the particulars, examined evidence, and drew up an address to the king, desiring his majesty would be graciously pleased to use his utmost endeavors for preventing such depredations; for procuring just and reasonable satisfaction; and for securing to his subjects the free exercise of commerce and navigation to and from the British colonies in America: the king assured them he would use his best endeavors to answer the desires and expectations of his people in an affair of so much importance; and they, in another address, thanked him for his gracious answer: they did not, however, receive such a satisfactory reply to a former address, touching the sum of £60,000 that had been stated in the public account, without specification of the particular uses to which it was applied: his majesty gave them to understand that the money had been issued and disbursed for secret services; and that a distinct and particular account of the distribution of it could not be given without a manifest prejudice to the public. A bill was prepared for the more effectual preventing bribery and corruption in elections for members of parliament; and it passed through the house without opposition: but their attention was chiefly employed on the Spanish depredations, which had raised a great clamor through the whole kingdom, and excited very warm disputes in parliament; for they were generally reputed the fruits of negligence, incapacity, or want of vigor in the ministers: the commons, having made farther progress in the inquiry, and received fresh petitions from the merchants, passed some resolutions, in which the Spaniards were accused of having violated the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, and with having treated inhumanly the masters and crews of ships belonging to Great Britain: they justified the instructions given to admiral Hosier, to seize and detain

¹⁴ It afterwards appeared that some of the members of this inquest were actuated by other motives than those they professed; and the committee was suffered to sink into oblivion.

the flota and galleons of Spain, until justice and satisfaction should be rendered to his majesty and his allies; nay, even declared that such seizure would have been just, prudent, and necessary, tending to prevent an open rupture, and to preserve the peace and tranquillity of Europe: they again addressed the king to use his endeavors to procure satisfaction; and he promised to comply with their request.

13. Mr. Scroope, member for Bristol, moved for an address entreating his majesty to order an account of the produce of the civil-list revenues for one year to be laid before the house: the address was presented, the account produced, and the house, in a grand committee, took this affair into consideration: the courtiers affirmed that they fell short of the £800,000 settled on his majesty; and Mr. Scroope proposed that the sum of £115,000 should be granted to the king, on account of those deficiencies and arrears: the motion was vigorously opposed by Mr. Pulteney and other members: they expressed their surprise that it should be made so late in the session, when no farther demand of money could be reasonably expected; and they said it was the more extraordinary, because it appeared in the former session, from the examination of the accounts then before the house, that the revenues of the civil-list produced yearly a much greater sum than that for which they were given: Mr. Pulteney moved that the accounts and papers should be referred to the examination of a select committee, properly empowered to investigate the truth: the ministers opposed this motion; and the question being put, it passed in the negative: the majority voted the sum demanded; and in a bill for settling the price of imported corn, they inserted the resolution for granting to his majesty the sum of £115,000, on account of arrears due on the civil-list revenues.

14. The house of lords having prepared a bill for the more effectual punishment of forgery, which was passed into a law, and ordered the judges to bring in another on the report of a committee appointed to consider the case of imprisoned debtors, at length deliberated on the state of the nation, particularly the positive demands made by the court of Spain for the restitution of Gibraltar, grounded on a letter written by the late king to his catholic majesty: from a copy of the letter laid before the house, it plainly appeared that King George I. had consented to this restitution. A motion being made for a resolution, importing, that for the

honor of his majesty, and the preservation and security of the trade and commerce of the kingdom, effectual care should be taken in the present treaty that the king of Spain should renounce all claim and pretension to Gibraltar and Minorca in plain and strong terms, a debate ensued, and the question being put, passed in the negative, though not without a protest: then the majority resolved, that the house did intirely rely on his majesty, that he would, for maintaining the honor, and securing the trade of this kingdom, take effectual care in the present treaty to preserve his undoubted right to Gibraltar and Minorca. When the house examined the papers relating to the Spanish depredations, many severe reflections were uttered against the conduct of the ministry; and a motion was made, to resolve that Hosier's expedition was an unreasonable burden on the nation; but this too was rejected, and occasioned another protest: nor did the clause in the corn bill, for granting £115,000 to his majesty, pass through the house of peers without warm opposition: divers lords alleged, that instead of a deficiency in the civil-list revenues, there was a considerable surplus; that this was a new grant, and a new burden on the people; that the nation was loaded, not to complete, but to augment the sum designed for the civil-list; and this at a time when the public debts were increased, when the taxes were heavily felt in all parts of the country, when the foreign trade of Britain was encumbered and diminished, when her manufactures were decayed, her poor multiplied, and she was surrounded by many other national calamities: they observed, that if the produce of the civil-list revenue should not amount to the yearly sum of £800,000, the deficiency must be made good to his majesty by the public; whereas no provision was made, by which, if the produce of these revenues should exceed that sum, the surplus could accrue to the benefit of the public; that, by this precedent, not only real deficiencies were to be made good, but also supplies were to be given for arrears standing out at the end of the year, which should come on before the supplies could be granted, though the supply given to make good arrears in one year would certainly increase the surplusages in another; that the revenues of the civil-list were variable in their own nature; and even when there is a deficiency in the produce, there might be arrears in the receipt: these might be easily increased by the management of designing ministers, by private directions to receivers, and by artful

methods of stating accounts : all these arguments, and other objections equally strong and plausible, against this unconscionable and unparliamentary motion, served only to evince the triumph of the ministry over shame and sentiment, their contempt of public spirit, and their defiance of the national reproach.¹⁵

15. The king had, on the twenty-fourth of March, 1729, given the royal assent to five bills; and on the fourteenth of May, the same sanction was given to thirty other bills, including an act, enabling the queen to be regent in the kingdom during his majesty's absence, without taking the oaths; and another for the relief of insolvent debtors: at the same time two and thirty private bills were passed: then the king expressed his approbation of the parliament, signified his intention to visit his German dominions, and ordered the chancellor to prorogue both houses. His majesty, having appointed the queen regent of the realm, set out for Hanover on the seventeenth of May, in order to remove a petty misunderstanding which had happened between that electorate and the court of Berlin: some Hanoverian subjects had been pressed or decoyed into the service of Prussia; and the regents of Hanover had seized certain Prussian officers by way of reprisal. The whole united kingdom of Great Britain at this juncture enjoyed uninterrupted repose; and commerce continued to increase, in spite of all restriction and discouragement: the people of Ireland found themselves happy under the government of lord Carteret; and their parliament, assembling in the month of September, approved themselves the fathers of their country: they established funds for the discharge of their national debt, and for maintaining the expense of government; they enacted wholesome laws for the encouragement of manufactures, trade, and agriculture; and they formed wise regulations in different branches of civil economy: some time after this session, which was conducted with so much harmony and patriotism, lord Carteret returned to England, and was succeeded by the duke of Dorset in the government of that kingdom: in the month of

¹⁵ The peers that distinguished themselves in the opposition were Beaufort, Stafford, Craven, Foley, Lichfield, Scarsdale, Gower, Mountjoy, Plymouth, Bathurst, Northampton, Coventry, Oxford and Mortimer, Willoughby de Broke, Boyle, and Warington.

May, Charles lord Townshend resigned the seals, which were given to colonel Stanhope, now created earl of Harrington; so that Sir Robert Walpole now reigned without a rival: James, earl of Waldegrave, was appointed ambassador to the court of France, which, about that time, was filled with joy by the birth of a dauphin.

16. In the month of September, Victor Amadeus, king of Sardinia, resigned his crown to his son, Charles Emanuel, prince of Piedmont: the father reserved to himself a revenue of 100,000 pistoles per annum, retired to the castle of Chambery, and espoused the countess dowager of St. Sebastian, who declined the title of queen, but assumed that of marchioness of Somerive. Though the congress of Soissons proved abortive, conferences were begun at Seville between the plenipotentiaries of England, France, and Spain; and a treaty was concluded on the ninth of November, not only without the concurrence of the emperor, but even contrary to his right, as established by the quadruple alliance: on this subject he communicated an imperial commissorial decree to the states of the empire assembled in the diet at Ratisbon, which was answered by the French minister, de Chavigny. In October, Peter II. czar of Muscovy, and grandson of Peter I. died in the fifteenth year of his age, at Moscow, and was succeeded on the Russian throne by the princess Anne Ivanowna, second daughter of John Alexowitz, elder brother of the first Peter, and widow of Frederic William, duke of Courland: the following month was rendered remarkable by the death of pope Benedict XIII. in whose room cardinal Laurence Corsini was raised to the pontificate, and assumed the name of Clement XII.

17. The British parliament assembling on the thirteenth of January, the king gave them to understand that the peace of Europe was now established by the treaty of Seville, built on the foundation of former treaties, and tending to render more effectual what the contracting powers in the quadruple alliance were before engaged to see performed: he assured them, that all former conventions made with Spain in favor of the British trade and navigation were renewed and confirmed; that the free, uninterrupted exercise of their commerce was restored; that the court of Spain had agreed to an ample restitution and reparation for unlawful seizures and depredations; that all rights, privileges, and possessions, belonging to him and his allies, were solemnly re-established, confirmed, and guaranteed; and that not one

concession was made to the prejudice of his subjects : he told them he had given orders for reducing a great number of his land forces, and for laying up great part of the fleet ; and observed that there would be a considerable saving in the expense of the current year. After both houses had presented their addresses of thanks and congratulation to the king on the peace of Seville, the lords took that treaty into consideration, and it did not pass inquiry without severe animadversion.

18. The lords in the opposition excepted to the article by which the merchants of Great Britain were obliged to make proof of their losses at the court of Spain : they said this stipulation was a hardship on British subjects, and dishonorable to the nation ; that few would care to undertake such a troublesome and expensive journey, especially as they had reason to apprehend their claims would be counterbalanced by the Spaniards ; and, after all, they would have no more than the slender comfort of hoping to obtain that redress by commissaries which they had not been able to procure by plenipotentiaries : they thought it very extraordinary that Great Britain should be bound to ratify and guaranty whatever agreement should be made between the king of Spain and the duke of Parma and Tuscany, concerning the garrisons once established in their countries ; that the English should be obliged to assist in effectuating the introduction of 6000 Spanish troops into the towns of Tuscany and Parma without any specification of the methods to be taken, or the charge to be incurred in giving that assistance ; that they should guaranty for ever, not only to Don Carlos, but even all his successors, the possession of the estates of Tuscany and Parma ; a stipulation, which in all probability would involve Great Britain in endless quarrels and disputes about a country with which they had no concern : they affirmed that the treaty of Seville, instead of confirming other treaties, was contradictory to the quadruple alliance, particularly in the article of introducing Spanish troops into Tuscany and Parma, in the room of neutral forces stipulated by the former alliance ; and agreeing that they should there remain until Don Carlos and his successors should be secure and exempt from all events : they complained that these alterations, from the tenor of the quadruple alliance, were made without the concurrence of the emperor, and even without inviting him to accede ; an affront, which might alienate his friendship from England,

and hazard the loss of such an ancient, powerful, and faithful ally: they declared that throughout the whole treaty there seemed to be an artful omission of any express stipulation to secure Great Britain in her right to Gibraltar and Minorca. Such was the substance of the objections made to the peace: then lord Bathurst moved for a resolution, that the agreement on the treaty of Seville, to secure the succession of Don Carlos to the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia with Spanish troops, was a manifest violation of the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, tending to involve the nation in a dangerous and expensive war, and to destroy the balance of power in Europe. The question was put, and the motion rejected: such too was the fate of two other motions, to resolve that Great Britain's right of sovereignty, dominion, possession, and claim to Gibraltar and Minorca, were not ascertained by the treaty of Seville; and that the stipulations in that treaty for repairing the losses of the British merchants were insufficient and precarious: the majority, far from stigmatising this transaction, resolved that the treaty did contain all necessary stipulations for maintaining and securing the honor, dignity, rights, and possessions of the crown; that all due care was taken therein for the support of the trade of the kingdom, and for repairing the losses sustained by the British merchants: on these resolutions an address of approbation was founded; but when a motion was made for an address to his majesty, that he would order to be laid before the house a list of all pensions payable to the crown, it was immediately resolved in the negative: divers contests of the same kind arose on the mutiny-bill, the pension-bill, and the maintenance of the 12,000 Hessians; but the ministry bore down all opposition, though their triumphs were clogged with vigorous protests, which did not fail to make impression on the body of the people.

19. Nor was the success of the court interest in the house of commons altogether pure, and free from exception and dispute: when the charge of the land forces fell under the consideration of the commons, and Mr. Henry Pelham, secretary at war, moved that the number of effective men for the land service of the ensuing year should be fixed at 17,709, Mr. Pulteney insisted on its being reduced to 12,000. Mr. Shippen affirmed that Mr. Pelham's motion was a flat negative to the address for which he voted on the first day of the session, as it plainly implied a distrust of the validity of the

late treaty, which he then assured the house would immediately produce all the blessings of an absolute peace, and deliver the kingdom from the apprehensions and inconveniences of a war: he said the motion tended directly towards the establishment of an army in Great Britain, which he hoped would never be so far germanised, as tamely to submit to a military government: he observed that the nation could have no occasion for all the troops that were demanded, considering the glorious scene of affairs which was now opened to all Europe. 'They are not necessary,' said he, 'to awe Spain into a firm adherence to its own treaty; they are not necessary to force the emperor into an immediate accession; nor are they in any sort necessary for the safety of his majesty's person and government: force and violence are the resort of usurpers and tyrants only; because they are, with good reason, distrustful of the people whom they oppress; and because they have no other security for the continuance of their unlawful and unnatural dominion, than what depends intirely on the strength of their armies.' The motion, however, was carried in the affirmative.

20. Another warm debate was excited by a bill which the courtiers brought in, to prevent any subjects of Great Britain from advancing sums of money to foreign princes or states, without having obtained license from his majesty, under his privy-seal, or some great authority: the minister pretended that this law was proposed to disable the emperor, who wanted to borrow a great sum of the English merchants, from raising and maintaining troops to disturb the tranquillity of Europe: the bill contained a clause, empowering the king to prohibit by proclamation all such loans of money, jewels, or bullion; the attorney-general was empowered to compel, by English bill, in the court of exchequer, the effectual discovery, on oath, of any such loans; and it was enacted, that in default of an answer to any such bill, the court should decree a limited sum against the person refusing to answer. Mr. Daniel Pulteney, a gentleman of uncommon talents and ability, and particularly acquainted with every branch of commerce, argued strenuously against this bill, as a restraint on trade that would render Holland the market of Europe, and the mart of money to the nations of the continent: he said, that by this general prohibition, extending to all princes, states, or potentates, the English were totally disabled from assisting their best allies; that, among

others, the king of Portugal frequently borrowed money of the English merchants residing within his dominions; that while the licensing power remained in the crown, the licenses would be issued through the hands of the minister, who by this new trade might gain twenty, thirty, or forty thousand a year; that the bill would render the exchequer a court of inquisition; and that whilst it restrained our merchants from assisting the princes and powers of Europe, it permitted our stock-jobbers to trade in their funds without interruption: other arguments of equal weight were enforced by Mr. Barnard, a merchant of London, who perfectly understood trade in all its branches, spoke with judgment and precision, and on all occasions steadily adhered to the interest and liberties of his country: after having explained his reasons, he declared he should never consent to a bill which he deemed a violation of our fundamental laws, a breach of our dearest liberties, and a very terrible hardship on mankind: Sir William Wyndham distinguished himself on the same side of the question: the bill was vindicated by Sir Robert Walpole, Mr. Pelham, and Sir Philip Yorke, attorney-general; and being supported by the whole weight of ministerial influence, not only passed through the house, but was afterwards enacted into a law.

21. The subsidies were continued to the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel and the duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttele, in spite of all that could be urged against these extraneous encumbrances; and the supply for the ensuing year was granted according to the estimates which the ministry thought proper to produce, amounting to about £2,280,000: it must be owned, however, for the credit of this session, that the house appropriated £1,000,000 of the surpluses arising from the sinking-fund towards the discharge of the national debt; and by another act extinguished the duties on salt, by which expedient the subject was eased of a heavy burden, not only in being freed from the duty, but also from a considerable charge of salaries given to a great number of officers employed to collect this imposition: they likewise encouraged the colony of Carolina with an act, allowing the planters and traders of that province to export rice directly to any part of Europe southward of Cape Finisterre; and they permitted salt from Europe to be imported into the colony of New York. The term of the exclusive trade granted by act of parliament to the East-India company drawing towards a period, many considerable merchants and others

made application for being incorporated and vested with the privilege of trading to those countries, proposing to lay that branch of trade open to all the subjects of Great Britain on certain conditions: in consideration of an act of parliament for this purpose, they offered to advance £3,200,000, for redeeming the fund and trade of the present East-India company: this proposal was rejected; and the exclusive privilege vested in the company was, by act of parliament, protracted to the year 1766, on the following conditions: that they should pay into the exchequer the sum of £200,000 towards the supplies of the year, without interest or addition to their capital stock; that the annuity or yearly fund of £160,000, payable to them from the public, should be reduced to £128,000; that after the year 1766, their right to the exclusive trade should be liable to be taken away by parliament, on three years' notice, and repayment of their capital.

22. On the fifteenth of May, 1730, the king went to the house of peers, and closed the session. In his speech he expressed his joy, that notwithstanding all the clamors which were raised, the parliament had approved of those matters which fell under their consideration; a circumstance, which, he said, could not fail to inspire all mankind with a just detestation of those incendiaries, who by scandalous libels labored to alienate the affections of his people; to fill their minds with groundless jealousies and unjust complaints, in dishonor of him and his government, and in defiance of the sense of both houses of parliament.¹⁶ The emperor was so much incensed at the insult offered him in the treaty of Seville, with respect to the garrisons of Tuscany and Parma, that he prohibited the subjects of Great Britain from trading in his dominions; he began to make preparations for war; and actually detached bodies of troops to

¹⁶ In the course of this session the commons passed a bill for making more effectual the laws in being, for disabling persons from being chosen members of parliament who enjoyed any pension during pleasure, or for any number of years, or any offices holden in trust for them, by obliging all persons hereafter to be chosen to serve for the commons in parliament, to take the oath therein mentioned: in all probability this bill would not have made its way through the house of commons, had not the minister been well assured it would stick with the upper house, where it was rejected at the second reading, though not without violent opposition.

Italy with such despatch as had been very seldom exerted by the house of Austria: yet the article of which he complained was not so much a real injury, as an affront put on the head of the empire; for the eventual succession to those Italian duchies had been secured to the infant Don Carlos by the quadruple alliance; and all that the emperor required, was, that this prince should receive the investiture of them as fiefs of the empire.

23. In Great Britain, this year was not distinguished by any transaction of great moment. Seven chiefs of the Cherokee nations of Indians in America were brought to England by Sir Alexander Cumin: being introduced to the king, they laid their crown and regalia at his feet; and by an authentic deed acknowledged themselves subjects to his dominion, in the name of all their compatriots, who had vested them with full powers for this purpose: they were amazed and confounded at the riches and magnificence of the British court: they compared the king and queen to the sun and moon, the princes to the stars of heaven, and themselves to nothing: they gave their assent in the most solemn manner to articles of friendship and commerce proposed by the lords commissioners for trade and plantations; and, being loaded with presents of necessities, arms, and ammunition, were re-conveyed to their own country, which borders on the province of South-Carolina. In the month of September a surprising revolution was effected at Constantinople without bloodshed or confusion: a few mean Janissaries displayed a flag in the streets, exclaiming that all true Mussulmen ought to follow them, and assist in reforming the government: they soon increased to the number of 100,000, marched to the seraglio, and demanded the grand visir, the kiaja, and capitan pacha: these unhappy ministers were immediately strangled: their bodies, being delivered to the insurgents, were dragged through the streets, and afterwards thrown to the dogs to be devoured: not contented with this sacrifice, the revolted deposed the grand signor, Achmet, who was confined to the same prison from whence they brought his nephew Machmut; and raised this last to the throne, after he had lived seven and twenty years in confinement.

24. England was at this period infested with robbers, assassins, and incendiaries, the natural consequences of degeneracy, corruption, and the want of police in the interior government of the kingdom this defect, in a great measure,

arose from an absurd notion, that laws necessary to prevent those acts of cruelty, violence, and rapine, would be incompatible with the liberty of British subjects; a notion, that confounds all distinctions between liberty and brutal licentiousness: as if that freedom was desirable, in the enjoyment of which people find no security for their lives or effects. The peculiar depravity of the times was visible even in the conduct of those who preyed on the commonwealth: thieves and robbers were now become more desperate and savage than ever they had appeared since mankind was civilised: in the exercise of their rapine, they wounded, maimed, and even murdered the unhappy sufferers, through a wantonness of barbarity: they circulated letters, demanding sums of money from certain individuals, on pain of reducing their houses to ashes, and their families to ruin; and even set fire to the house of a rich merchant in Bristol, who had refused to comply with their demand: the same species of villany was practised in different parts of the kingdom; so that the government was obliged to interpose, and offer a considerable reward for discovering the ruffians concerned in such execrable designs.

25. In the speech with which the king opened the session of parliament on the twenty-first of January, he told them, that the present critical conjuncture seemed in a very particular manner to deserve their attention; that as the transactions then depending in the several courts of Europe were on the point of being determined, the great event of peace or war might be very much affected by their first resolutions, which were expected by different powers with great impatience: he said, the continuance of that zeal and vigor with which they had hitherto supported him and his engagements must at this time be of the greatest weight and importance, both with regard to his allies, and to those who might be disposed, before the season of action, to prevent by an accommodation the fatal consequences of a general rupture. The former scene was repeated: both houses, in their addresses, promised to support his majesty in all his engagements; yet the members in the opposition demonstrated the absurdity of promising to fulfil engagements, before they could possibly know whether or not they were for the service of Great Britain: another bill was brought into the house of commons, to prevent pensioners from sitting as members of parliament; and, after a third reading, carried up to the lords for their concurrence. When the supply fell under

consideration, the debates were renewed on the subsidies to the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel and the duke of Wolfenbüttele, which however were continued; and every article was granted according to the estimates given in for the expense of the ensuing year. Two petitions being presented to the commons, representing the delays of justice occasioned by the use of the Latin tongue in proceedings at law, a bill was brought in for changing this practice, and enacting that all those processes and pleadings should be entered in the English language: though one would imagine that very little could be advanced against such a regulation, the bill met with warm opposition, on pretence that it would render useless the ancient records which were written in that language, and introduce confusion and delay of justice, by altering the established form and method of pleading: in spite of these objections, it passed through both houses, and obtained the royal assent. A great number of merchants from different parts of the kingdom having repeated their complaints of depredations and cruelties committed by the Spaniards in the West-Indies, their petitions were referred to the consideration of a grand committee: their complaints, on examination, appeared to be well founded: the house presented an address to the king, desiring his majesty would be graciously pleased to continue his endeavors to prevent such depredations for the future; to procure full satisfaction for the damages already sustained; and to secure to the British subjects the full and uninterrupted exercise of their trade and navigation to and from the British colonies in America. The bill against pensions produced a warm debate in the house of lords, where it was violently opposed by the dukes of Newcastle and Argyle, the earl of Ilay, and Dr. Sherlock, bishop of Bangor: this prelate, in a remarkable speech, represented it as a scheme to enlarge the power of the house of commons, and to break the balance between the powers essential to the constitution, so as, sooner or later, to prove the ruin of the whole: the great barrier, providing against bribery and corruption by this bill, consisted in an oath to be imposed on all members of the lower house, by which they must have solemnly sworn and declared that they had not directly nor indirectly any pension during pleasure, or for any number of years, or any office in part or in the whole held for them, or for their benefit, by any persons whatsoever; and that they would not accept any such pensions or offices, without signifying the same to the house within fourteen days after they should be

received or accepted: the bill was vindicated as just and necessary by the earls of Winchelsea and Strafford, lord Bathurst, and lord Carteret, who had by this time joined as an auxiliary in the opposition.¹⁷

26. The house of peers proceeded to consider the state of the national debt [1731.]: they read a bill for the free importation of wool from Ireland into England, which was fiercely opposed and laid aside, contrary to all the rules of sound policy: they passed the bill for carrying on proceedings at law in the English language; and a fruitless motion was made by lord Bathurst for an address, to desire his majesty would give directions for discharging the Hessian troops that were in the pay of Great Britain. On the seventh of May the parliament was prorogued, after the king had given them to understand that all apprehensions of war were now happily removed by a treaty signed at Vienna between him and the emperor: he said it was communicated to the courts of France and Spain, as parties to the treaty of Seville, the execution of which it principally regarded; and that it was likewise submitted to the consideration of the States-General: he observed, that the conditions and engagements into which he had entered on this occasion were agreeable to that necessary concern which the British nation must always have for the security and preservation of the balance of power in Europe; and that this happy turn, duly improved with a just regard to former alliances, yielded a favorable prospect of seeing the public tranquillity re-established.

27. In the month of January the duke of Parma died,

¹⁷ Nothing was heard within doors in parliament but sarcastic repartee and violent declamation between the two parties, who did not confine their altercation to those debates, but took the field against each other in periodical papers and occasional pamphlets. The paper called the *Craftsman* had already risen into high reputation all over England, for the wit, humor, and solid reasoning it contained: some of the best writers in the opposition, including lord Bolingbroke and Mr. Pulteney, made use of this vehicle to convey their animadversions on the minister, who on his side employed the most wretched scribblers to defend his conduct: it was in consequence of two political pamphlets, written in opposition to each other by lord Hervey and Mr. Pulteney, and some recrimination they produced in the house of commons, that his lordship challenged the other to a single combat, and had well nigh lost his life in the duel, which was fought in Hyde-park.

after having made a will, in which he declared his duchess was three months advanced in her pregnancy; entreating the allied powers of Europe to have compassion on his people, and defer the execution of their projects until his consort should be delivered: in case the child should be still born, or die after the birth, he bequeathed his dominions and allodial estates to the infant Don Carlos of Spain; and appointed five regents to govern the duchy: notwithstanding this disposition, a body of imperial troops immediately took possession of Parma and Placentia, under the command of general Stampa, who declared they should conduct themselves with all possible regularity and moderation, and leave the administration intirely to the regents whom the duke had appointed: they publicly proclaimed in the market-place, that they took possession of these duchies for the infant Don Carlos; and that if the duchess dowager should not be delivered of a prince, the said infant might receive the investiture from the emperor whenever he would, provided he should come without an army. Though these steps seemed to threaten an immediate war, the king of Great Britain and the States-General interposed their mediation so effectually with the court of Vienna, that the emperor desisted from the prosecution of his design; and on the sixteenth of March concluded at Vienna a treaty with his Britannic majesty, by which he consented to withdraw his troops from Parma and Placentia: he agreed, that the king of Spain might take possession of these places in favor of his son Don Carlos, according to the treaty of Seville: he likewise agreed, that the Ostend company, which had given such umbrage to the maritime powers, should be totally dissolved, on condition that the contracting powers concerned in the treaty of Seville should guaranty the pragmatic sanction, or succession of the Austrian hereditary dominions to the heirs female of the emperor, in case he should die without male issue. The Dutch minister residing at the imperial court did not subscribe this treaty, because, by the maxims received in that republic, and the nature of her government, he could not be vested with full powers so soon as it would have been necessary: nevertheless, the States-General were, by a separate article, expressly named as a principal contracting party.

28. On the twenty-second of July a new treaty was signed at Vienna between the emperor and the kings of Great Britain and Spain, tending to confirm the former: in August a

treaty of union and defensive alliance between the electorates of Saxony and Hanover was executed at Dresden. The court of Spain expressing some doubts with regard to the pregnancy of the duchess of Parma, she underwent a formal examination by five midwives of different nations in presence of the elder duchess dowager, several ladies of quality, three physicians, and a surgeon; and was declared with child: nevertheless, after having kept all Europe in suspense for six months, she owned she had been deceived; and general Stampa, with the imperial forces, took formal possession of the duchies of Parma and Placentia. Spain and the great duke of Tuscany having acceded to the last treaty of Vienna, the crown of Great Britain engaged to equip an armament that should convoy Don Carlos to his new dominions: accordingly, Sir Charles Wager sailed with a strong squadron from Portsmouth on the twenty-sixth of August, and in September arrived at Barcelona, where, being joined by the Spanish fleet and transports, they sailed together to Leghorn; from whence the admiral returned to England: Don Carlos passed through part of France; and, embarking at Antibes on board of the Spanish galleys, arrived at Leghorn in December: then the imperial general withdrew his forces into the Milanese, and the infant took possession of his new territories.

29. During these transactions France was distracted by religious disputes, occasioned by the bull *Unigenitus* thundered against the doctrines of Jansenius; a bill, which had produced a schism in the Gallican church, and well nigh involved that country in civil war and confusion: it was opposed by the parliaments and lay tribunals of the kingdom; but many bishops, and the Jesuits in general, were its most strenuous assertors: all the artifices of priestcraft were practised on both sides to inflame the enthusiasm and manage the superstition of the people: pretended miracles were wrought at the tomb of abbé Paris, who had died without accepting the bull, consequently was declared damned by the abettors of that constitution: on the other hand, the Jesuits exerted all their abilities and industry in preaching against the Jansenists, in establishing an opinion of their superior sanctity, and inspiring a spirit of quietism among their votaries, who were transported into the delirium of possession, illumination, and supernatural converse: these arts were often used for the most infamous purposes: female enthusiasts were wrought up to such a violence of agitation,

that nature fainted under the struggle, and the pseudo-saint seized this opportunity of violating the chastity of his penitent: such was said to be the case of *Mademoiselle de Cadière*, a young gentlewoman of Toulon, abused in this manner by the lust and villany of *Pere Girard*, a noted Jesuit, who underwent a trial before the parliament of Aix, and very narrowly escaped the stake.

30. The parliament of Great Britain meeting on the thirteenth of January, the king in his speech declared that the general tranquillity of Europe was restored and established by the last treaty of Vienna, and *Don Carlos* was actually possessed of Parma and Placentia; that 6000 Spaniards were quietly admitted and quartered in the duchy of Tuscany, to secure, by the express consent and agreement of the great duke, the reversion of his dominions; and that a family convention was made between the courts of Spain and Tuscany, for preserving mutual peace and friendship in the two houses: he told the commons, that the estimates for the service of the current year would be considerably less than those of former years: he recommended unanimity; he observed that his government had no security but what was equally conducive to their happiness and to the protection of his people; that their prosperity had no foundation but in the defence and support of his government: 'our safety,' said he, 'is mutual, and our interests are inseparable.' The opposition to the court measures appears to have been uncommonly spirited during the course of this session: the minister's motions were attacked with all the artillery of elocution: his principal emissaries were obliged to task their faculties to their full exertion, to puzzle and perplex where they could not demonstrate and convince, to misrepresent what they could not vindicate, and to elude the arguments which they could not refute. In the house of commons lord Hervey, lately appointed vice-chamberlain of his majesty's household, made a motion for an address of thanks, in which they should declare their intire approbation of the king's conduct, acknowledge the blessings they enjoyed under his government, express their confidence in the wisdom of his councils, and declare their readiness to grant the necessary supplies: this member, son to the earl of Bristol, was a nobleman of some parts, which however were more specious than solid: he condescended to act as a subaltern to the minister, and approved himself extremely active in forwarding all his designs, whether as a secret emissary or public

orator ; in which last capacity he appears to have been pert, frivolous, and frothy : his motion was seconded by Mr. Clutterbuck, and opposed by Sir Wilfred Lawson, Mr. Shippen, Mr. W. Pulteney, Sir William Wyndham, and Mr. Oglethorpe : they did not argue against a general address of thanks ; but exposed the absurdity and bad tendency of expressions which implied a blind approbation of all the measures of the ministry. Sir Wilfred Lawson observed, that notwithstanding the great things we had done for the crown of Spain, and the favors we had procured for the royal family of that kingdom, little or no satisfaction had as yet been received for the injuries our merchants had sustained from that nation. Mr. Pulteney took notice, that the nation, by becoming guarantee to the pragmatic sanction, laid itself under an obligation to assist the Austrian family when attacked by any potentate whatever, except the grand signor ; that they might be attacked when it would be much against the interest of the kingdom to engage itself in a war on any foreign account ; that it might one day be for the interest of the nation to join against them, in order to preserve the balance of Europe, the establishing of which had already cost England such immense sums of money : he insisted on the absurdity of concluding such a number of inconsistent treaties ; and concluded with saying, that if affairs abroad were now happily established, the ministry which conducted them might be compared to a pilot, who, though there was a clear, safe, and straight channel into port, yet took it in his head to carry the ship a great way about, through sands, rocks, and shallows ; who, after having lost a great number of seamen, destroyed a great deal of tackle and rigging, and subjected the owners to an enormous expense, at last by chance hits the port, and triumphs in his good conduct. Sir William Wyndham spoke to the same purpose. Mr. Oglethorpe, a gentleman of unblemished character, brave, generous, and humane, affirmed that many other things related more nearly to the honor and interest of the nation than did the guarantee of the pragmatic sanction : he said he wished to have heard that the new works at Dunkirk had been intirely raised and destroyed ; that the nation had received full and complete satisfaction for the depredations committed by the natives of Spain ; that more care was taken in disciplining the militia, on whose valor the nation must chiefly depend in case of an invasion ; and that some regard had been shown to the oppressed protestants in Germany : he ex-

pressed his satisfaction to find that the English were not so closely united to France as formerly; for he had generally observed, that when two dogs were in a leash together, the stronger generally ran away with the weaker; and this he was afraid had been the case between France and Great Britain. The motion was vigorously defended by Mr. Pelham, paymaster of the forces, and brother to the duke of Newcastle; a man, whose greatest fault was his being concerned in supporting the measures of a corrupt ministry: in other respects he was liberal, candid, benevolent, and even attached to the interest of his country, though egregiously mistaken in his notions of government: on this occasion he asserted that it was no way inconsistent with the honor or dignity of that house to thank his majesty in the most particular terms for every thing he had been pleased to communicate in his speech from the throne; that no expressions of approbation in the address could be any way made use of to prevent an inquiry into the measures which had been pursued, when the treaties should be laid before the house: he said, at the opening of a session the eyes of all Europe were turned towards Great Britain, and from the parliament's first resolves all the neighboring powers judged of the unanimity that would ensue between his majesty and the representatives of his people; that their appearing jealous or diffident of his majesty's conduct would weaken his influence on the councils of foreign states and potentates, and perhaps put it out of his power to rectify any false step that might have been made by his ministers: his arguments were reinforced by a long speech from Mr. Horace Walpole: the question was put, the motion carried, and the address presented.

31. The next subject of debate was the number of land forces: when the supply fell under consideration, Sir W. Strickland, secretary at war, moved that the same number which had been maintained in the preceding year should be continued in pay: on the other hand, lord Morpeth, having demonstrated the danger to which the liberties of the nation might be exposed by maintaining a numerous standing army in time of peace, made a motion that the number should be reduced to 12,000: a warm debate ensuing, was managed in favor of the first motion by lord Hervey, Sir Robert Walpole and his brother, Mr. Pelham, and Sir Philip Yorke, attorney-general: this gentleman was counted a better lawyer than a politician, and shone more as an advocate at

the bar than as an orator in the house of commons. The last partisan of the ministry was Sir William Yonge, one of the lords commissioners of the treasury; a man, who rendered himself serviceable and necessary, by stooping to all compliances, running on every scent, and haranguing on every subject with an even, uninterrupted, tedious flow of dull declamation, composed of assertions without veracity, conclusions from false premises, words without meaning, and language without propriety. Lord Morpeth's motion was espoused by Mr. Watkin Williams Wynne, a gentleman of an ancient family and opulent fortune in Wales, brave, open, hospitable, and warmly attached to the ancient constitution and hierarchy: he was supported by Mr. Walter Plumer, who spoke with weight, precision, and severity; by Sir W. Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, Mr. W. Pulteney, and Mr. Barnard. The courtiers argued that it was necessary to maintain such a number of land forces as might defeat the designs of malcontents, secure the interior tranquillity of the kingdom, defend it from external assaults, overawe its neighbors, and enable it to take vigorous measures in case the peace of Europe should be re-embroiled: they affirmed, the science of war was so much altered, and required so much attention, that no dependence was to be placed on a militia; that all nations were obliged to maintain standing armies for their security against the encroachments of neighboring powers; that the number of troops in Great Britain was too inconsiderable to excite the jealousy of the people, even under an ambitious monarch; that his majesty never entertained the least thought of infringing the liberties of his subjects; that it could not be supposed, that the officers, among whom were many gentlemen of family and fortune, would ever concur in a design to enslave their country; and that the forces now in pay could not be properly deemed a standing army, inasmuch as they were voted and maintained from year to year by the parliament, which was the representative of the people. To these arguments the members in the opposition replied, that a standing force in time of peace was unconstitutional, and had been always thought dangerous; that a militia was as capable of discipline as a standing army, and would have more incentives to courage and perseverance; that the civil magistrate was able to preserve the peace of the country; that the number of the malcontents was altogether contemptible, though it might be considerably augmented by maintaining a standing

army, and other such arbitrary measures; that other nations had been enslaved by standing armies; and howsoever they might find themselves necessitated to depend on a military force for security against encroaching neighbors, the case was very different with regard to Great Britain, for the defence of which nature had provided in a peculiar manner; that this provision was strengthened and improved by a numerous navy, which secured her dominion of the sea, and, if properly disposed, would render all invasion impracticable, or at least ineffectual; that the land army of Great Britain, though sufficient to endanger the liberties of an unarmed people, could not possibly secure such an extent of coast, and therefore could be of very little service in preventing an invasion; that though they had all imaginable confidence in his majesty's regard for the liberty of his subjects, they could not help apprehending, that should a standing army become part of the constitution, another prince, of more dangerous talents and more fatal designs, might arise, and employ it for the worst purposes of ambition; that though many officers were gentlemen of honor and probity, these might be easily discarded, and the army gradually moulded into a quite different temper: by these means, practised in former times, an army had been new modelled to such a degree, that they turned their swords against the parliament, for whose defence they had been raised, and destroyed the constitution both in church and state; that with respect to its being wholly dependent on the parliament, the people of England would have reason to complain of the same hardship, whether a standing army should be declared at once indispensable, or regularly voted from year to year, according to the direction of the ministry; that the sanction of the legislature, granted to measures which in themselves are unconstitutional, burdensome, odious, and repugnant to the genius of the nation, instead of yielding consolation, would serve only to demonstrate, that the most effectual method of forging the chains of national slavery would be that of ministerial influence operating on a venal parliament. Such were the reasons urged against a standing army, of what number soever it might be composed; but the expediency of reducing the number from about 18,000 to 12,000 was insisted on as the natural consequence of his majesty's declaration, by which they were given to understand that the peace of Europe was established, and that he had nothing so much at heart as the

ease and prosperity of his people: it was suggested, that if 18,000 men were sufficient on the supposed eve of a general war in Europe, it was surely reasonable to think that a less number would suffice when peace was perfectly re-established: whatever effect these reasons had on the body of the nation, they made no converts in the house, where the majority resolved that the standing army should be maintained without reduction. Mr. Plumer complained, that the country was oppressed by an arbitrary method of quartering soldiers, in an undue proportion, on those publicans who refused to vote in elections according to the direction of the ministry. Mr. Pulteney asserted, that the money raised for the subsistence of 18,000 men in England, would maintain 60,000 French or Germans, or the same number of almost any other people on the continent. Sir William Wyndham declared, that 18,000 of the English troops in the late war were maintained on less than two-thirds of the sum now demanded for the like number; but no regard was paid to these allegations.

32. The next object of importance that attracted the notice of the house was the state of the charitable corporation: this company was first erected in the year 1707: their professed intention was to lend money at legal interest to the poor, on small pledges; and to persons of better rank on an indubitable security of goods impawned: their capital was at first limited to £30,000; but, by licenses from the crown, they increased it to £600,000, though their charter was never confirmed by act of parliament. In the month of October, George Robinson, Esq. member for Marlow, the cashier, and John Thompson, warehouse-keeper of the corporation, disappeared in one day: the proprietors, alarmed at this incident, held several general courts, and appointed a committee to inspect the state of their affairs: they reported, that for a capital of above £500,000 no equivalent was found; inasmuch as their effects did not amount to the value of £30,000, the remainder having been embezzled by means which they could not discover: the proprietors, in a petition to the house of commons, represented that by the most notorious breach of trust in several persons to whom the care and management of their affairs were committed, the corporation had been defrauded of the greatest part of their capital, and that many of the petitioners were reduced to the utmost degree of misery and distress; they therefore prayed, that as they were unable to detect the combi-

nations of those who had ruined them, or to bring the delinquents to justice without the aid of the power and authority of parliament, the house would vouchsafe to inquire into the state of the corporation, and the conduct of their managers; and give such relief to the petitioners as to the house should seem meet. The petition was graciously received, and a secret committee appointed to proceed on the inquiry: they soon discovered a most iniquitous scene of fraud, which had been acted by Robinson and Thompson, in concert with some of the directors, for embezzling the capital and cheating the proprietors: many persons of rank and quality were concerned in this infamous conspiracy: some of the first characters in the nation did not escape suspicion and censure: Sir Robert Sutton and Sir Archibald Grant were expelled the house of commons, as having had a considerable share in those fraudulent practices: a bill was brought in to restrain them and other delinquents from leaving the kingdom, or alienating their effects: in the mean time, the committee received a letter from signor John Angelo Belloni, an eminent banker at Rome, giving them to understand, that Thompson was secured in that city, with all his papers, and confined to the castle of St. Angelo; and that the papers were transmitted to his correspondent at Paris, who would deliver them up, on certain conditions stipulated in favor of the prisoner: this letter was considered as an artifice to insinuate a favorable opinion of the pretender, as if he had taken measures for securing Thompson, from his zeal for justice and affection for the English people: on this supposition, the proposals were rejected with disdain; and both houses concurred in an order that the letter should be burned at the Royal Exchange by the hands of the common hangman: the lower house resolved that it was an insolent and audacious libel, absurd and contradictory; that the whole transaction was a scandalous artifice, calculated to delude the unhappy, and to disguise and conceal the wicked practices of the professed enemies to his majesty's person, crown, and dignity.

33. No motion, during this session, produced such a warm contest as did that of Sir Robert Walpole, when, after a long preamble, he proposed that the duties on salt, which about two years before had been abolished, should now be revived, and granted to his majesty, his heirs and successors, for the term of three years: in order to sweeten this pro-

posal, he declared that the land-tax for the ensuing year should be reduced to one shilling in the pound. All the members of the country party were immediately in commotion: they expressed their surprise at the grossness of the imposition: they observed that two years had scarce elapsed, since the king, in a speech from the throne, had exhorted them to abolish some of the taxes that were the most burdensome to the poor: the house was then of opinion, that the tax on salt was the most burdensome and the most pernicious to the trade of the kingdom, of all the impositions to which the poor were subjected, and therefore it was taken off; but that no good reason could be produced for altering their opinion so suddenly, and resolving to grind the faces of the poor, in order to ease a few rich men of the landed interest: they affirmed, that the most general taxes are not always the least burdensome; that after a nation is obliged to extend their taxes farther than the luxuries of their country, those taxes that can be raised with the least charge to the public are the most convenient and easiest to the people; but they ought carefully to avoid taxing those things which are necessary for the subsistence of the poor: the price of all necessaries being thus enhanced, the wages of the tradesman and manufacturer must be increased; and where these are high, the manufacturers will be undersold by those of cheaper countries: the trade must of consequence be ruined; and it is not to be supposed that the landed gentleman would choose to save a shilling in the pound from the land-tax, by means of an expedient that would ruin the manufactures of his country, and decrease the value of his own fortune: they alleged that the salt-tax particularly affected the poor, who could not afford to eat fresh provisions; and that, as it formerly occasioned murmurs and discontents amongst the lower class of people, the revival of it would, in all probability, exasperate them into open sedition: they observed, that while it was exacted in England, a great number of merchants sent their ships to Ireland, to be victualled for their respective voyages; that, since it had been abolished, many experiments had been successfully tried with salt for the improvement of agriculture, which would be intirely defeated by the revival of this imposition: they suggested that the land-tax was raised at a very small expense, and subject to no fraud; whereas that on salt would employ a great number of additional officers in the revenue, wholly depending

on the ministry, whose influence in elections they would proportionably increase: they even hinted, that this consideration was one powerful motive for proposing the revival of an odious tax, which was in effect an excise, and would be deemed a step towards a general excise on all sorts of provisions: finally, they demonstrated that the salt-tax introduced numberless frauds and perjuries in different articles of traffic. Sir Robert Walpole endeavored to obviate all these objections in a long speech, which was minutely answered and refuted in every article by Mr. Pulteney: nevertheless, the question being put, the minister's motion was carried in the affirmative, and the duty revived; yet, before the bill passed, divers motions were made, and additional clauses proposed by the members in the opposition: new debates were raised on every new objection, and the courtiers were obliged to dispute their ground by inches.

34. The pension-bill was revived, and for the third time rejected in the house of lords: a bill for the encouragement of the sugar colonies passed through the lower house with great difficulty, but was lost among the peers: another, for the better securing of the freedom of parliaments, by farther qualifying members to sit in the house of commons, was read the third time, and thrown out on the question. A committee had been appointed to inquire into a sale of the estate which had belonged to the late earl of Derwentwater: it appeared by the report that the sale had been fraudulent; a bill was prepared to make it void; Dennis Bond, Esq. and serjeant Birch, commissioners for the sale of the forfeited estates, were declared guilty of notorious breach of trust, and expelled the house, of which they were members: George Robinson, Esq. underwent the same sentence, on account of the part he acted in the charitable corporation, as he and Thompson had neglected to surrender themselves, according to the terms of a bill which had passed for that purpose: during this session, five members of parliament were expelled for the most sordid acts of knavery; a sure sign of national degeneracy and dishonor: all the supplies were granted; and, among other articles, the sum of £22,694. 7s. 6d. for the agio or difference of the subsidies payable to the crown of Denmark, in pursuance of the treaty subsisting between the late king and that monarch; but this was not obtained without a violent dispute. Mr. Pulteney, who bore a considerable share in all these debates, became in a little time so remark-

able as to be thought worthy of a very particular mark of his majesty's displeasure: the king, on the first of July, called for the council-book, and with his own hand struck the name of William Pulteney, Esq. out of the list of privy-counsellors: his majesty farther ordered him to be put out of all the commissions of the peace: the several lord lieutenants, from whom he had received deputations, were commanded to revoke them; and the lord chancellor and secretaries of state were directed to give the necessary orders for that purpose.

35. Nor did the house of peers tamely and unanimously submit to the measures of the ministry: the pension-bill being read, was again rejected, and a protest entered: a debate arose about the number of standing forces; and the earl of Chesterfield argued for the court motion. The earl of Oxford moved that they might be reduced to 12,000 effective men. The earl of Winchelsea observed, that a standing army rendered ministers of state more daring than otherwise they would be, in contriving and executing projects that were grievous to the people; schemes that never could enter into the heads of any but those who were drunk with excess of power. The marquis of Tweedale, in reasoning against such a number as the ministry proposed, took occasion to observe, that not one shilling of the forfeited estates was ever applied to the use of the public: he likewise took notice, that the 18,000 men, demanded as a standing force, were modelled in such a manner, that they might be speedily augmented to 40,000 men on any emergency. The duke of Argyle endeavored to demonstrate the danger of depending for the safety of the kingdom on an undisciplined militia, a fleet, or an army of auxiliaries: then he represented the necessity of having recourse to a regular army in case of invasion; and, after all, acknowledged that the number proposed was no way sufficient for that purpose: all his arguments were answered and refuted in an excellent speech by lord Carteret: nevertheless, victory declared for the minister. The parliament having granted every branch of the supply, towards the payment of which they borrowed a sum from the sinking-fund, and passed divers other acts for the encouragement of commerce and agriculture, the king, on the first of June, 1732, gave the royal assent to the bills that were prepared, and closed the session, after having informed both houses that the States-General had acceded

to the treaty of Vienna; that he had determined to visit his German dominions, and to leave the queen regent in his absence: he accordingly set out for Hanover in the beginning of June: by this time the pragmatic sanction was confirmed by the diet of the empire, though not without a formal protest by the electors palatine, Bavaria, and Saxony.

CHAP. XVI.

GEORGE II. (CONTINUED.)—1732.

1. Remarkable instance of suicide—2. Affairs of the continent—3. Meeting of the parliament—4. Address to the king touching the Spanish depredations—5. The excise scheme proposed by Sir Robert Walpole—6. Opposition to the scheme—7. Bill for a dower to the princess royal—8. Debate in the house of lords concerning the estates of the late directors of the South-Sea company—9. Double election of a king in Poland—10. The kings of France, Spain, and Sardinia join against the emperor—11. The prince of Orange arrives in England—12. Altercation in the house of commons—13. Debate about the removal of the duke of Bolton and lord viscount Cobham from their respective regiments—14. Motion for the repeal of the septennial act—15. Conclusion of a remarkable speech by Sir W. Wyndham—16. Message from the king for powers to augment the forces in the intervals between the two parliaments—17. Opposition in the house of peers. Parliament dissolved—18. Dantzic besieged by the Russians—19. Philipsburg taken by the French. Don Carlos takes possession of Naples—20. Battle of Parma—21. The imperialists are again worsted at Guastalla. An edict in France compelling the British subjects in that kingdom to enlist in the French army—22. New parliament in Great Britain—23. Debate on a subsidy to Denmark—24. Petition of some Scottish noblemen to the house of peers—25. Bill explaining an act of the Scottish parliament touching wrongous imprisonment—26. Misunderstanding between the courts of Spain and Portugal. Sir John Norris sails with a strong squadron to Lisbon—27. Preliminaries signed by the emperor and king of France—28. Proceedings in parliament—29. Bill for preventing the retail of spirituous liquors. Another for the relief of quakers in the article of tithes—30. Mortmain act—31. Remarkable riot

at Edinburgh—32. Rupture between the czarina and the Ottoman Porte—33. The session of parliament opened by commission—34. Motion in both houses for a settlement on the prince of Wales—35. Fierce debate on this subject—36. Scheme by Sir John Barnard for reducing the interest of the national debt—37. Bill against the city of Edinburgh—38. Play-house bill.

1. THE most remarkable incident that distinguished this year in England was a very uncommon instance of suicide; an act of despair so frequent among the English, that in other countries it is objected to them as a national reproach: though it may be generally termed the effect of lunacy proceeding from natural causes operating on the human body, in some few instances it seems to have been the result of cool deliberation. Richard Smith, a bookbinder, and prisoner for debt within the liberties of the king's-bench, persuaded his wife to follow his example in making away with herself, after they had murdered their little infant: this wretched pair were in the month of April found hanging in their bed-chamber, at about a yard's distance from each other; and in a separate apartment the child lay dead in a cradle: they left two papers enclosed in a short letter to their landlord, whose kindness they implored in favor of their dog and cat: they even left money to pay the porter who should carry the enclosed papers to the person for whom they were addressed: in one of these the husband thanked that person for the marks of friendship he had received at his hands, and complained of the ill offices he had undergone from a different quarter: the other paper, subscribed by the husband and wife, contained the reasons which induced them to act such a tragedy on themselves and their offspring: this letter was altogether surprising for the calm resolution, the good humor, and the propriety with which it was written: they declared, that they withdrew themselves from poverty and rags; evils, that, through a train of unlucky accidents, were become inevitable: they appealed to their neighbors for the industry with which they had endeavored to earn a livelihood: they justified the murder of their child, by saying it was less cruelty to take her with them than to leave her friendless in the world, exposed to ignorance and misery: they professed their belief and confidence in an Almighty God, the fountain of goodness and beneficence, who could not possibly take delight in the misery of his creatures; they therefore resigned up their lives to him without any terrible apprehensions; submitting themselves to those ways,

which, in his goodness, he should appoint after death: these unfortunate suicides had been always industrious and frugal, invincibly honest, and remarkable for conjugal affection.

2. Trustees having been appointed by charter to superintend a new settlement in Georgia, situated to the southward of Carolina in America, Mr. Oglethorpe, as general and governor of the province, embarked at Gravesend, with a number of poor families, to plant that colony. The king of Spain having equipped a very powerful armament, the fleet sailed on the fourth of June from the road of Alicant, under the command of the count de Montemar, and arrived on the coast of Barbary in the neighborhood of Oran, where a considerable body of troops was landed without much opposition: next day, however, they were attacked by a numerous army of Moors, over whom they obtained a complete victory: the bey or governor of Oran immediately retired with his garrison, and the Spaniards took possession of the place, from which they had been driven in the year 1708: the strong fort of Mazalaquivir was likewise surrendered to the victors at the first summons; so that this expedition answered all the views with which it had been projected. Victor Amadeus, the abdicated king of Sardinia, having, at the instigation of his wife, engaged in some intrigues, in order to re-ascend the throne, his son, the reigning king, ordered his person to be seized at Montcallier, and conveyed to Rivoli, under a strong escort: his wife, the marchioness de Spignio, was conducted to Serva: the old king's confessor, his physician, and eight-and-forty persons of distinction were imprisoned: the citadel of Turin was secured with a strong garrison; and new instructions were given to the governor and senate of Chambery. The dispute which had long subsisted between the king of Prussia and the young prince of Orange, touching the succession to the estates possessed by king William III. as head of the house of Orange, was at last accommodated by a formal treaty signed at Berlin and Dieren. The Dutch were greatly alarmed about this time with an apprehension of being overwhelmed by an inundation, occasioned by worms, which were said to have consumed the piles and timber-work that supported their dykes: they prayed and fasted with uncommon zeal, in terror of this calamity, which they did not know how to avert in any other manner: at length, they were delivered from their fears by a hard frost, which

effectually destroyed those dangerous animals. About this time, Mr. Dieden, plenipotentiary from the elector of Hanover, received, in the name of his master, the investiture of Bremen and Verden from the hands of the emperor.

3. The history of England at this period cannot be very interesting, as it chiefly consists in an annual revolution of debates in parliament; debates, in which the same arguments perpetually recur on the same subjects. When the session was opened on the sixteenth of January, the king declared, that the situation of affairs both at home and abroad rendered it unnecessary for him to lay before the two houses any other reasons for calling them together, but the ordinary despatch of the public business, and his desire of receiving their advice in such affairs as should require the care and consideration of parliament: the motion made in the house of commons for an address of thanks implied that they should express their satisfaction at the present situation of affairs both at home and abroad: the motion was carried, notwithstanding the opposition of those who observed that the nation had very little reason to be pleased with the present posture of affairs; that the French were employed in fortifying and restoring the harbor of Dunkirk, contrary to the faith of the most solemn treaties; that the British merchants had received no redress for the depredations committed by the Spaniards; that the commerce of England daily decreased; that no sort of trade thrived but the traffic of Change-alley, where the most abominable frauds were practised; and that every session of parliament opened a new scene of villany and imposition.

4. The pension bill was once more revived, and lost again in the house of peers: all the reasons formerly advanced against a standing army were now repeated; and a reduction of the number insisted on with such warmth, that the ministerial party were obliged to have recourse to the old phantom of the pretender. Sir Archer Croft said a continuation of the same number of forces was the more necessary, because, to his knowledge, popery was increasing very fast in the country; for, in one parish which he knew, there were seven popish priests; and that the danger from the pretender was the more to be feared, because they did not know but he was then breeding his son a protestant. Sir Robert Walpole observed, that a reduction of the army was the chief thing wished for and desired by all the Jacobites in the kingdom; that no reduction had ever been

made but what gave fresh hopes to that party, and encouraged them to raise tumults against the government; and he did not doubt but that if they should resolve to reduce any part of the army, there would be post-horses employed that very night to carry the good news beyond sea to the pretender. His brother Horace added, that the number of troops then proposed was absolutely necessary to support his majesty's government, and would be necessary as long as the nation enjoyed the happiness of having the present illustrious family on the throne: the futility, the self-contradiction, and the ridiculous absurdity of these suggestions were properly exposed; nevertheless, the army was voted without any reduction. Sir Wilfred Lawson having made a motion for an address to the king, to know what satisfaction had been made by Spain for the depredations committed on the British merchants, it was after a violent debate approved, and the address presented: the king, in answer to this remonstrance, gave them to understand, that the meeting of the commissaries of the two crowns had been so long delayed by unforeseen accidents, that the conferences were not opened till the latter end of the preceding February; and that as the courts of London and Madrid had agreed that the term of three years stipulated for finishing the commission should be computed from their first meeting, a perfect account of their proceedings could not as yet be laid before the house of commons. A bill had been long depending for granting encouragement to the sugar colonies in the West-Indies; but, as it was founded on a prohibition that would have put a stop to all commerce between the French islands and the British settlements in North-America, it met with a very warm opposition from those who had the prosperity of those northern colonies at heart: but the bill being patronised and supported by the court interest, surmounted all objections, and afterwards passed into a law. While the commons deliberated on the supply, Sir Robert Walpole moved that £500,000 should be issued out of the sinking-fund for the service of the ensuing year. Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Pulteney, and Sir John Barnard expatiated on the iniquity of pillaging a sacred deposit, solemnly appropriated to the discharge of the national debt: they might have demonstrated the egregious folly of a measure, by which the public, for a little temporary ease, lost the advantage of the accumulating interest which would have arisen from the sinking-fund if properly managed and re-

served : all objections vanished before the powers of ministerial influence, which nothing now could check but the immediate danger of popular commotion : such hazardous interposition actually defeated a scheme which had been adopted by the minister, and even before its appearance alarmed all the trading part of the nation.

5. The house, having resolved itself into a committee, to deliberate on the most proper methods for the better security and improvement of the duties and revenues charged on tobacco and wines, all the papers relating to these duties were submitted to the perusal of the members : the commissioners of the customs and excise were ordered to attend the house, the avenues of which were crowded with multitudes of people ; and the members in the opposition waited impatiently for a proposal, in which they thought the liberties of their country so deeply interested : in a word, there had been a call of the house on the preceding day : the session was frequent and full ; and both sides appeared ready and eager for the contest, when Sir Robert Walpole broached his design. He took notice of the arts which had been used to prejudice the people against his plan before it was known : he affirmed that the clamors occasioned by these prejudices had originally risen from smugglers and fraudulent dealers, who had enriched themselves by cheating the public ; and that these had been strenuously assisted and supported by another set of men, fond of every opportunity to stir up the people of Great Britain to mutiny and sedition : he expatiated on the frauds that were committed in that branch of the revenue arising from the duties on tobacco ; on the hardships to which the American planters were subjected by the heavy duties payable on importation, as well as by the ill usage they had met with from their factors and correspondents in England, who, from being their servants were now become their masters ; on the injury done to the fair trader, and the loss sustained by the public with respect to the revenue : he asserted that the scheme he was about to propose would remove all these inconveniences, prevent numberless frauds, perjuries, and false entries, and add £200,000 or £300,000 per annum to the public revenue : he entered into a long detail of frauds practised by the knavish dealers in those commodities : he recited the several acts of parliament that related to the duties on wine and tobacco : he declared he had no intention to promote a general excise : he endeavored to obviate some

objections that might be made to his plan, the nature of which he at length explained : he proposed to join the laws of excise to those of the customs ; that the farther subsidy of three farthings per pound charged on imported tobacco should be still levied at the custom-house, and payable to his majesty's civil-list as heretofore ; that then the tobacco should be lodged in warehouses, to be appointed for that purpose by the commissioners of the excise ; that the keeper of each warehouse, appointed likewise by the commissioners, should have one lock and key, and the merchant-importer have another ; and that the tobacco should be thus secured until the merchant should find vent for it, either by exportation or home consumption ; that the part designed for exportation should be weighed at the Custom-house, discharged of the three farthings per pound which had been paid at its first importation, and then exported without farther trouble ; that the portion destined for home consumption should, in presence of the warehouse-keeper, be delivered to the purchaser, on his paying the inland duty of four-pence per pound weight to the proper officer appointed to receive it ; by which means the merchant would be eased of the inconvenience of paying the duty on importation, or of granting bonds and finding sureties for the payment, before he had found a market for the commodity ; that all penalties and forfeitures, so far as they formerly belonged to the crown, should for the future be applied to the use of the public ; that appeals in this, as well as in all other cases relating to the excise, should be heard and determined by two or three of the judges, to be named by his majesty ; and in the country, by the judge of assize on the next circuit, who should hear and determine such appeals in the most summary manner, without the formality of proceedings in courts of law or equity.

6. Such was the substance of the famous excise scheme, in favor of which Sir Robert Walpole moved that the duties and subsidies on tobacco should from and after the twenty-fourth of June cease and determine. The debate which ensued was managed and maintained by all the able speakers on both sides of the question : Sir Robert Walpole was answered by Mr. Perry, member for the city of London : Sir Paul Methuen joined in the opposition : Sir John Barnard, another representative of London, distinguished himself in the same cause : he was supported by Mr. Pulteney, Sir William Wyndham, and other patriots. The scheme

was espoused by Sir Philip Yorke, appointed lord chief justice of the king's-bench, and ennobled in the course of the ensuing year: Sir Joseph Jekyl approved of the project, which was likewise strenuously defended by lord Hervey, Sir Thomas Robinson, Sir William Yonge, Mr. Pelham, and Mr. Winnington, which last excelled all his contemporaries of the ministry in talents and address. Those who argued against the scheme accused the minister of having misrepresented the frauds, and made false calculations: with respect to the supposed hardships under which the planters were said to labor, they affirmed that no planter had ever dreamed of complaining, until instigated by letters and applications from London; that this scheme, far from relieving the planters, would expose the factors to such grievous oppression, that they would not be able to continue the trade, consequently the planters would be intirely ruined; and, after all, it would not prevent those frauds against which it was said to be provided; that, from the examination of the commissioners of the customs, it appeared that those frauds did not exceed £40,000 per annum, and might in a great measure be abolished by a due execution of the laws in being; consequently this scheme was unnecessary, would be ineffectual in augmenting the revenue, destructive to trade, and dangerous to the liberties of the subject, as it tended to promote a general excise, which was in all countries considered as a grievous oppression: they suggested that it would produce an additional swarm of excise-officers and warehouse-keepers, appointed and paid by the treasury, so as to multiply the dependents on the crown, and enable it still farther to influence the freedom of elections; that the traders would become slaves to excisemen and warehouse-keepers, as they would be debarred all access to their commodities, except at certain hours, when attended by those officers; that the merchant, for every quantity of tobacco he could sell, would be obliged to make a journey, or send a messenger to the office for a permit, which could not be obtained without trouble, expense, and delay; and that should a law be enacted in consequence of this motion, it would in all probability be some time or other used as a precedent for introducing excise laws into every branch of the revenue; in which case the liberty of Great Britain would be no more. In the course of this debate, Sir Robert Walpole took notice of the multitudes which had beset all the approaches to the house: he said it would be an easy task

for a designing, seditious person to raise a tumult and disorder among them; that gentlemen might give them what name they should think fit, and affirm they were come as humble suppliants; but he knew whom the law called sturdy beggars, and those who brought them to that place could not be certain but that they might behave in the same manner: this insinuation was resented by Sir John Barnard, who observed that merchants of character had a right to come down to the court of requests, and lobby of the house of commons, in order to solicit their friends and acquaintance against any scheme or project which they might think prejudicial to their commerce; that when he came into the house, he saw none but such as deserved the appellation of sturdy beggars as little as the honorable gentleman himself, or any gentleman whatever. After a warm dispute the motion was carried by a majority of sixty-one voices: [1733.] several resolutions were founded on the proposal; and to these the house agreed, though not without another violent contest: the resolutions produced a bill, against which petitions were preferred by the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, the cities of Coventry and Nottingham: a motion was made that counsel should be heard for the city of London; but it was rejected by the majority, and the petitions were ordered to lie on the table. Had the minister encountered no opposition but that which appeared within doors, his project would have certainly been carried into execution; but the whole nation was alarmed, and clamored loudly against the excise-bill: the populace still crowded around Westminster-hall, blocking up all the avenues to the house of commons: they even insulted the persons of those members who had voted for the ministry on this occasion; and Sir Robert Walpole began to be in fear of his life: he therefore thought proper to drop the design, by moving that the second reading of the bill might be postponed till the twelfth of June: then, complaint being made of the insolence of the populace, who had maltreated several members, divers resolutions were taken against those tumultuous crowds and their abettors: these resolves were communicated to the lord-mayor of London, the sheriff of Middlesex, and the high-bailiff of Westminster: some individuals were apprehended in the court of requests, as having fomented the disturbances; but they were soon released. The miscarriage of the bill was celebrated with public rejoicings in London and Westminster, and the minister was burned in effigy by the populace: after

the miscarriage of the excise scheme, the house unanimously resolved to inquire into the frauds and abuses in the customs; and a committee of twenty-one persons was chosen by ballot for this purpose.

7. The subsequent debates of this session were occasioned by a bill to prevent the infamous practice of stock-jobbing, which with great difficulty made its way to the house of lords, who proposed some amendments, in consequence of which it was laid aside, and succeeded by another bill establishing a lottery, to raise £500,000 for the relief of those who had suffered by the charitable corporation: after having undergone some alterations, it passed through both houses, and obtained the royal assent. The king, by a message to parliament, had signified his intention to give the princess royal in marriage to the prince of Orange, promising himself their concurrence and assistance, that he might be enabled to bestow such a portion with his eldest daughter as should be suitable to the occasion: the commons immediately resolved, that out of the moneys arising from the sale of lands in the island of St. Christopher, his majesty should be empowered to apply £80,000, as a marriage dower for his daughter; and a clause for this purpose was inserted in the bill, for enabling his majesty to apply £500,000 out of the sinking-fund for the service of the current year.

8. The opposition in the house of lords was still more animated, though ineffectual: the debates chiefly turned on the pension-bill, the number of land forces, and a motion made by lord Bathurst, for an account of the produce of the forfeited estates which had belonged to the directors of the South-Sea company: the trustees for these estates had charged themselves with a great sum of money, and the lords in the opposition thought they had a right to know how it had been disposed of: the ministry had reasons to stifle this inquiry, and therefore opposed it with all their vigor: nevertheless, the motion was carried, after a warm dispute; and the directors of the South-Sea company were ordered to lay the accounts before the house: from this it appeared, that the large sums of money arising from the forfeited estates had been distributed among the proprietors, by way of dividend, even before recourse was had to parliament for directions in what manner that produce should be applied: lord Bathurst therefore moved for a resolution of the house, that the disposal of this money by way of dividend, without any order or direction of a general court

for that purpose, was a violation of the act of parliament made for the disposal thereof, and a manifest injustice done to the proprietors of that stock. The duke of Newcastle, in order to gain time, moved, that as the account was confused and almost unintelligible, the present directors of the company might be ordered to lay before the house a farther and more distinct account of the manner in which the money had been disposed of: a violent contest ensued, in the course of which the house divided; and of fifty-seven peers who voted for the delay, forty-six were such as enjoyed preferment in the church, commissions in the army, or civil employments under the government: at length lord Bathurst waved his motion for that time: then the house ordered that the present and former directors of the South-Sea company, together with the late inspectors of their accounts, should attend and be examined: they were accordingly interrogated, and gave so little satisfaction, that lord Bathurst moved for a committee of inquiry; but the question being put, was carried in the negative; yet a very strong protest was entered by the lords in the opposition. The next subject of altercation was the bill for misapplying part of the produce of the sinking-fund: it was attacked with all the force of argument, wit, and declamation by the earl of Strafford, lords Bathurst and Carteret, and particularly by the earl of Chesterfield, who had by this time resigned his staff of lord steward of the household, and renounced all connexion with the ministry: lord Bathurst moved for a resolution, importing that, in the opinion of the house, the sinking-fund ought for the future to be applied, in time of peace and public tranquillity, to the redemption of those taxes which were most prejudicial to the trade, most burdensome on the manufactures, and oppressive on the poor of the nation: this motion was over-ruled, and the bill adopted by the majority. On the eleventh of June, the king gave the royal assent to the bills that were prepared, and closed the session with a speech, in which he took notice of the wicked endeavors that had been lately used to inflame the minds of the people by the most unjust misrepresentations.

9. Europe was now re-involved in fresh troubles, by a vacancy on the throne of Poland: Augustus died at Warsaw in the end of January, and the neighboring powers were immediately in commotion: the elector of Saxony, son to the late king, and Stanislaus, whose daughter was married to the French monarch, declared themselves candidates for

the Polish throne: the emperor, the czarina, and the king of Prussia espoused the interests of the Saxon; the king of France supported the pretensions of his father-in-law: the foreign ministers at Warsaw forthwith began to form intrigues among the electors: the marquis de Monti, ambassador from France, exerted himself so successfully, that he soon gained over the primate and a majority of the catholic dietines to the interests of Stanislaus, while the imperial and Russian troops hovered on the frontiers of Poland. The French king no sooner understood that a body of the emperor's forces was encamped at Silesia, than he ordered the duke of Berwick to assemble an army on the Rhine, and take measures for entering Germany, in case the imperialists should march into Poland: a French fleet set sail for Dantzic; while Stanislaus travelled through Germany in disguise to Poland, and concealed himself in the house of the French ambassador at Warsaw. As the day of election approached, the imperial, Russian, and Prussian ministers delivered in their several declarations, by way of protest against the contingent election of Stanislaus, as a person proscribed, disqualified, depending on a foreign power, and connected with the Turks and other infidels: the Russian general Lascki entered Poland at the head of 50,000 men: the diet of the election was opened with the usual ceremony on the twenty-fifth of August: prince Viesazowski, chief of the Saxon interest, retired to the other side of the Vistula with 3000 men, including some of the nobility who adhered to that party: nevertheless the primate proceeded to the election; Stanislaus was unanimously chosen king, and appeared in the electoral field, where he was received with loud acclamations: the opposite party soon increased to 10,000 men, protested against the election, and joined the Russian army, which advanced by speedy marches. King Stanislaus, finding himself unable to cope with such adversaries, retired with the primate and French ambassador to Dantzic, leaving the palatine of Kiow at Warsaw: this general attacked the Saxon palace, which was surrendered on terms: then the soldiers and inhabitants plundered the houses belonging to the grantees who had declared for Augustus, as well as the hotel of the Russian minister: in the mean time, the Poles who had joined the Muscovites, finding it impracticable to pass the Vistula before the expiration of the time fixed for the session of the diet, erected a kelo at Cracow, where the elector of Saxony was chosen and pro-

claimed, by the bishop of Cracow, king of Poland, under the name of Augustus III. on the sixth of October: they afterwards passed the river; and the palatine of Kiow retiring towards Cracow, they took possession of Warsaw, where in their turn they plundered the palaces and houses belonging to the opposite party.

10. During these transactions, the French king concluded a treaty with Spain and Sardinia, by which those powers agreed to declare war against the emperor: manifestos were published reciprocally by all the contracting powers: the duke of Berwick passed the Rhine in October, and undertook the siege of Fort Kehl, which in a few days was surrendered on capitulation: then he repassed the river, and returned to Versailles: the king of Sardinia, having declared war against the emperor, joined a body of French forces commanded by marshal de Villars, and drove the imperialists out of the Milanese: his imperial majesty, dreading the effects of such a powerful confederacy against him, offered to compromise all differences with the crown of Spain, under the mediation of the king of Great Britain; and Mr. Keen, the British minister at Madrid, proposed an accommodation. Philip expressed his acknowledgements to the king of England, declaring, however, that the emperor's advances were too late, and that his own resolutions were already taken: nevertheless, he sent orders to the count de Montijo, his ambassador at London, to communicate to his Britannic majesty the motives which had induced him to take these resolutions: in the mean time he detached a powerful armament to Italy, where they invested the imperial fortress of Aula, the garrison of which was obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war: the republic of Venice declared she would take no share in the disputes of Italy; the States-General signed a neutrality with the French king for the Austrian Netherlands, without consulting the emperor or the king of Great Britain; and the English councils seemed to be altogether pacific.

11. In November the prince of Orange arrived at Greenwich, in order to espouse the princess royal; but the marriage was postponed on account of his being taken ill; and he repaired to Bath, to drink the water for the recovery of his strength. Henrietta, the young duchess of Marlborough, dying about this time, the title devolved to her sister's son, the earl of Sunderland. Lord King resigning his office of chancellor, it was conferred on Mr. Talbot, solicitor-

general, together with the title of baron ; a promotion that reflected honor on those by whom it was advised : he possessed the spirit of a Roman senator, the elegance of an Atticus, and the integrity of a Cato. At the meeting of the parliament in January, the king told them, in his speech, that though he was no way engaged in the war which had begun to rage in Europe, except by the good offices he had employed among the contending powers, he could not sit regardless of the present events, or be unconcerned for the consequences of a war undertaken and supported by such a powerful alliance : he said, he had thought proper to take time to examine the facts alleged on both sides, and to wait the result of the councils of those powers that were more immediately interested in the consequences of the rupture : he declared he would concert with his allies, more particularly with the States-General of the United Provinces, such measures as should be thought most advisable for their common safety, and for restoring the peace of Europe : in the mean time, he expressed his hope that they would make such provisions, as should secure his kingdom, rights, and possessions from all dangers and insults, and maintain the respect due to the British nation : he said, that whatever part it might in the end be most reasonable for him to act, it would in all views be necessary, when all Europe was preparing for arms, to put his kingdoms in a posture of defence. The motion for an address of thanks produced, as usual, a debate in both houses, which, it must be owned, appears to have proceeded from a spirit of cavilling rather than from any reasonable cause of objection.

12. The house of commons resolved to address his majesty for a copy of the treaty of Vienna : Sir John Rushout moved for another, desiring that the letters and instructions relating to the execution of the treaty of Seville should be submitted to the inspection of the commons ; but, after a hard struggle, it was over-ruled : the next motion was made by Mr. Sandys, a gentleman who had for some time appeared strenuous in the opposition, and wrangled with great perseverance : he proposed that the house should examine the instructions which had been given to the British minister in Poland some years before the death of king Augustus, that they might be the better able to judge of the causes which produced this new rupture among the powers of Europe : the motion being opposed by all the court members, a contest ensued, in the course of which Mr. Pulteney

compared the ministry to an empiric, and the constitution of England to his patient. 'This pretender in physic,' said he, 'being consulted, tells the distempered person, there were but two or three ways of treating his disease, and he was afraid that none of them would succeed : ' a vomit might throw him into convulsions that would occasion immediate death ; a purge might bring on a diarrhœa that would carry him off in a short time ; and he had been already bled so much and so often, that he could bear it no longer. The unfortunate patient, shocked at this declaration, replies, ' Sir, you have always pretended to be a regular doctor, but now I find you are an arrant quack : I had an excellent constitution when I first fell into your hands, but you have quite destroyed it ; and now I find I have no other chance for saving my life, but by calling for the help of some regular physician.' In the debate, the members on both sides seemed to wander from the question, and indulge themselves with ludicrous personalities. Mr. Horace Walpole took occasion to say, that the opposition treated the ministry as he himself was treated by some of his acquaintance, with respect to his dress : ' if I am in plain clothes,' said he, ' then they call me a slovenly, dirty fellow ; and if by chance I wear a laced suit, they cry, What, shall such an awkward fellow wear fine clothes ? ' He continued to sport in this kind of idle buffoonery : he compared the present administration to a ship at sea : as long as the wind was fair, and proper for carrying us to our designed port, the word was ' Steady ! steady ! ' but when the wind began to shift and change, the word was necessarily altered to ' Thus, thus, and no nearer ! ' The motion was overpowered by the majority ; and this was the fate of several other proposals made by the members in the opposition. Sir John Barnard presented a petition from the druggists, and other dealers in tea, complaining of the insults and oppression to which they were subjected by the excise laws, and imploring relief : Sir John, and Mr. Perry, another of the city members, explained the grievous hardships which those traders sustained, and moved that the petition might be referred to the consideration of the whole house : they were opposed by Mr. Winnington, Sir W. Yonge, and other partisans of the ministry ; and these skirmishes brought on a general engagement of the two parties, in which every weapon of satire, argument, reason, and truth was wielded against that odious, arbitrary, and oppressive method of collecting the public revenue :

nevertheless, the motion in favor of the sufferers was rejected.

13. When the commons deliberated on the supply, Mr. Andrews, deputy-paymaster of the army, moved for an addition of 1800 men to the number of land forces which had been continued since the preceding year: the members in the opposition disputed this small augmentation with too much heat and eagerness: it must be acknowledged, they were by this time irritated into such personal animosity against the minister, that they resolved to oppose all his measures, whether they might or might not be necessary for the safety and advantage of the kingdom; nor indeed were they altogether blamable for acting on this maxim, if their sole aim was to remove from the confidence and councils of their sovereign a man, whose conduct they thought prejudicial to the interests and liberties of their country: they could not, however, prevent the augmentation proposed; but they resolved, if they could not wholly stop the career of the ministry, to throw in such a number of rubs as should at least retard their progress. The duke of Bolton and lord Cobham had been deprived of the regiments they commanded, because they refused to concur in every project of the administration: it was in consequence of their dismissal, that lord Morpeth moved for a bill to prevent any commissioned officer, not above the rank of a colonel, from being removed, unless by a court-martial, or by address of either house of parliament: such an attack on the prerogative might have succeeded in the latter part of the reign of the first Charles; but at this juncture could not fail to miscarry: yet it was sustained with great vigor and address: when the proposal was set aside by the majority, Mr. Sandys moved for an address to the king, desiring to know who advised his majesty to remove the duke of Bolton and lord Cobham from their respective regiments: he was seconded by Mr. Pulteney and Sir William Wyndham; but the ministry, foreseeing another tedious dispute, called for the question, and the motion was carried in the negative. The next source of contention was a bill for securing the freedom of parliament, by limiting the number of officers in the house of commons: it was read a first and second time; but, when a motion was made for its being committed, it met with a powerful opposition, and produced a warm debate that issued in a question, which, like the former, passed in the negative. A clergyman having insinuated in

conversation that Sir William Milner, bart., member for York, received a pension from the ministry, the house took cognisance of this report; the clergyman acknowledged at the bar that he might have dropped such a hint from hearsay: the accused member protested, on his honor, that he never did, nor ever would receive, place, pension, gratuity, or reward from the court, either directly or indirectly, for voting in parliament, or on any other account whatever: the accusation was voted false and scandalous, and the accuser taken into custody; but in a few days he was discharged on his humble petition, and his begging pardon of the member whom he had calumniated. The duty on salt was prolonged for eight years; and a bill passed against stock-jobbing.

14. But the subject which of all others employed the eloquence and abilities on both sides to the most vigorous exertion, was a motion made by Mr. Bromley, who proposed that a bill should be brought in for repealing the septennial act, and for the more frequent meeting and calling of parliaments. The arguments for and against septennial parliaments have already been stated: the ministry now insisted on the increase of papists and Jacobites, which rendered it dangerous to weaken the hands of the government; they challenged the opposition to produce one instance in which the least encroachment had been made on the liberties of the people since the septennial act took place; and they defied the most ingenious malice to prove that his present majesty had ever endeavored to extend any branch of the prerogative beyond its legal bounds. Sir John Hinde Cotton affirmed, that in many parts of England the papists had already begun to use all their influence in favor of those candidates who were recommended by the ministers as members in the ensuing parliament: with respect to his majesty's conduct, he said he would not answer one word; but as to the grievances introduced since the law was enacted for septennial parliaments, he thought himself more at liberty to declare his sentiments: he asserted that the septennial law itself was an encroachment on the rights of the people; a law passed by a parliament that made itself septennial: he observed, that the laws of treason with regard to trials were altered since that period; that in former times a man was tried by a jury of his neighbors, within the county where the crimes alleged against him were said to be committed; but by an act of a septennial parliament he

might be removed and tried in any place where the crown, or rather the ministry, could find a jury proper for their purpose; where the prisoner could not bring any witness in his justification, without an expense which perhaps his circumstances would not bear: he asked, if the riot act was not an encroachment on the rights of the people;—an act, by which a little dirty justice of the peace, the meanest and vilest tool a minister can use, who perhaps subsists by his being in the commission, and may be deprived of that subsistence at the pleasure of his patron, had it in his power to put twenty or thirty of the best subjects in England to immediate death, without any trial or form but that of reading a proclamation:—‘Was not the fatal South-Sea scheme,’ said he, ‘established by the act of a septennial parliament? And can any man ask, whether that law was attended with any inconvenience? To the glorious catalogue I might have added the late excise-bill, if it had passed into a law; but, thank Heaven, the septennial parliament was near expiring before that famous measure was introduced.’

15. Sir William Wyndham concluded an excellent speech, that spoke him the unrivalled orator, the uncorrupted Briton, and the unshaken patriot, in words to this effect:—‘Let us suppose a man abandoned to all notions of virtue and honor, of no great family, and but a mean fortune, raised to be chief minister of state by the concurrence of many whimsical events; afraid or unwilling to trust any but creatures of his own making; lost to all sense of shame and reputation; ignorant of his country’s true interest; pursuing no aim but that of aggrandising himself and his favorites; in foreign affairs trusting none but those, who, from the nature of their education, cannot possibly be qualified for the service of their country, or give weight and credit to their negotiations: let us suppose the true interest of the nation by such means neglected or misunderstood, her honor tarnished, her importance lost, her trade insulted, her merchants plundered, and her sailors murdered; and all these circumstances overlooked, lest his administration should be endangered: suppose him next possessed of immense wealth, the plunder of the nation, with a parliament chiefly composed of members, whose seats are purchased, and whose votes are bought at the expense of the public treasure: in such a parliament suppose all attempts made to inquire into his conduct, or to relieve the nation from the distress which has been entailed on it by his administration: suppose him screened by a cor-

rupt majority of his creatures, whom he retains in daily pay, or engages in his particular interest, by distributing among them those posts and places which ought never to be bestowed on any but for the good of the public. Let him plume himself on his scandalous victory, because he has obtained a parliament like a packed jury ready to acquit him at all adventures: let us suppose him domineering with insolence over all the men of ancient families, over all the men of sense, figure, or fortune in the nation; as he has no virtue of his own, ridiculing it in others, and endeavoring to destroy or corrupt it in all. With such a minister and such a parliament, let us suppose a case which I hope will never happen; a prince on the throne, uninformed, ignorant, and unacquainted with the inclinations and true interest of his people, weak, capricious, transported with unbounded ambition, and possessed with insatiable avarice: I hope such a case will never occur; but as it possibly may, could any greater curse happen to a nation, than such a prince on the throne, advised, and solely advised, by such a minister, and, that minister supported by such a parliament? the nature of mankind cannot be altered by human laws; the existence of such a prince or such a minister we cannot prevent by act of parliament; but the existence of such a parliament I think we may prevent; as it is much more likely to exist, and may do more mischief while the septennial law remains in force, than if it were repealed: therefore, I am heartily for its being repealed.' Notwithstanding the most warm, the most nervous, the most pathetic remonstrances in favor of the motion, the question was put, and it was suppressed by mere dint of number.

16. The triumph of the ministry was still more complete in the success of a message delivered from the crown in the latter end of the session [1734.], when a great many members of the other party had retired to their respective habitations in the country. Sir Robert Walpole delivered this commission to the house, importing that his majesty might be enabled to augment his forces, if occasion should require such an augmentation, between the dissolution of this parliament and the election of another. Such an important point, that was said to strike at the foundation of our liberties, was not tamely yielded; but, on the contrary, contested with uncommon ardor: the motion for taking the message into consideration was carried in the affirmative; and an address presented to the king, signifying their

compliance with his desire : in consequence of a subsequent message, they prepared and passed a bill, enabling his majesty to settle an annuity of £5000 for life on the princess royal, as a mark of his parental favor and affection.

17. The opposition in the house of peers kept pace with that in the house of commons, and was supported with equal abilities, under the auspices of the lords Bathurst and Carteret, the earls of Chesterfield and Abingdon. The duke of Marlborough made a motion for a bill to regulate the army, equivalent to that which had been rejected in the lower house, and it met with the same fate after a warm dispute : then lord Carteret moved for an address to the king, that he would be graciously pleased to acquaint the house who advised his majesty to remove the duke of Bolton and lord viscount Cobham from their respective regiments ; and what crimes were laid to their charge : this proposal was likewise rejected, at the end of a debate, in which the duke of Argyle observed, that two lords had been removed, but only one soldier lost his commission. Such a great majority of the Scottish representatives had always voted for the ministry since the accession of the late king, and so many of these enjoyed places and preferments in the gift of the crown, that several attempts were made by the lords in the opposition, to prevent for the future the ministerial influence from extending itself to the elections of North Britain : accordingly, two motions for this purpose were made by the earl of Marchmont and the duke of Bedford ; and sustained by the earls of Chesterfield, Winchelsea, and Stair, lords Willoughby de Broke, Bathurst, and Carteret : they were opposed by the dukes of Newcastle and Argyle, the earl of Cholmondeley, earl Paulet, lord Hervey, now called up by writ to the house of peers, and lord Talbot : the question being put on both, they were of course defeated ; and the earl of Stair was deprived of his regiment of dragoons, after having performed the most signal services to the royal family, and exhausted his fortune in supporting the interest and dignity of the crown : strenuous protests were entered against the decision of the majority concerning the king's message, demanding a power to augment his forces during the recess of parliament ; as also against a bill for enabling his majesty to apply the sum of £1,200,000 out of the sinking-fund for the services of the current year. The business of the session being despatched, the king repaired to the house of lords on the sixteenth of

April, and having passed all the bills that were ready for the royal assent, took leave of this parliament with the warmest acknowledgement of their zeal, duty, and affection : it was at first prorogued, then dissolved, and another convoked by the same proclamation. On the fourteenth of March, the nuptials of the prince of Orange and the princess royal were solemnised with great magnificence; and this match was attended with addresses of congratulation to his majesty from different parts of the kingdom.

18. The powers at war on the continent acted with surprising vigor : the Russian and Saxon army invested the city of Dantzic, in hopes of securing the person of king Stanislaus : the town was strong, the garrison numerous, and, animated by the examples of the French and Poles, made a very obstinate defence : for some time they were supplied by sea with recruits, arms, and ammunition : on the eleventh of May a reinforcement of 1500 men was landed from two French ships of war and some transports, under Fort Wechselmunde, which was so much in want of provisions, that they were not admitted ; they therefore re-embarked, and sailed back to Copenhagen ; but afterwards a larger number were landed in the same place, and attacked the Russian intrenchments, in order to force their way into the city : they were repulsed in this attempt, but retired in good order : at length the Russian fleet arrived, under the command of admiral Gordon ; and now the siege was carried on with great fury : Fort Wechselmunde was surrendered ; the French troops capitulated, and were embarked in the Russian ships, to be conveyed to some port in the Baltic : Stanislaus escaped in the disguise of a peasant to Marienwerder in the Prussian territories. The city of Dantzic submitted to the dominion of Augustus III. king of Poland, and was obliged to defray the expense of the war to the Russian general, count de Munich, who had assumed the command after the siege was begun : the Polish lords at Dantzic signed an act of submission to king Augustus, who, on the tenth of July, arrived at the convent of Oliva : there a council was held in his presence : the recusant noblemen took the oath which he proposed : then a general amnesty was proclaimed ; and the king set out on his return to Dresden.

19. On the Rhine the French arms bore down all resistance : the count de Belleisle besieged and took Traerbach : the duke of Berwick, at the head of 60,000 men, invested

Philipsburg, while prince Eugene was obliged to remain on the defensive, in the strong camp at Heilbron, waiting for the troops of the empire: on the twelfth of June, the duke of Berwick, in visiting the trenches, was killed by a cannon-ball, and the command devolved on the marquis d'Asfeldt, who carried on the operations of the siege with equal vigor and capacity. Prince Eugene, being joined by the different reinforcements he expected, marched towards the French lines; but found them so strong, that he would not hazard an attack; and such precautions taken, that with all his military talents he could not relieve the besieged: at length, general Watgenau, the governor, capitulated after having made a noble defence, and obtained the most honorable conditions: prince Eugene retired to Heidelberg, and the campaign ended about the beginning of October. The imperial arms were not more successful in Italy: the infant Don Carlos had received so many invitations from the Neapolitan nobility, that he resolved to take possession of that kingdom: he began his march in February, at the head of the Spanish forces; published a manifesto, declaring he was sent by his father to relieve the kingdom of Naples from the oppression under which it groaned; and entered the capital amidst the acclamations of the people; while the count de Visconti, the German viceroy, finding himself unable to cope with the invaders, thought proper to retire, after having thrown succors into Gaeta and Capua: when he arrived at Nocera, he began to assemble the militia, with intent to form a camp at Barletta: the count de Montemar marched with a body of forces against this general, and obtained over him a complete victory at Bitonto in Apuglia, on the twenty-fifth of May, when the imperialists were intirely routed, and a great number of principal officers taken prisoners. Don Carlos, being proclaimed, and acknowleged king of Naples, created the count de Montemar duke of Bitonto; reduced Gaeta, and all other parts of the kingdom which were garrisoned with imperial troops; and resolved to subdue the island of Sicily: about 20,000 troops, being destined for this expedition, were landed in the road of Solanto in August, under the command of the new duke of Bitonto, who being favored by the natives, proceeded in his conquests with great rapidity: the people acknowleged Don Carlos as their sovereign, and took arms in support of his government; so that the imperial troops were driven before them, and the Spaniards possessed the whole kingdom, except Messina, Syracuse, and

Trepani, when the infant determined to visit the island in person.

20. While Don Carlos was thus employed in the conquest of Naples and Sicily, the imperialists were hard pressed in Lombardy by the united forces of France and Piedmont, commanded by the king of Sardinia and the old marshal duke de Villars. In the month of January they undertook the siege of Tortona, which they reduced; while the troops of the emperor began to pour in great numbers into the Mantuan: in the beginning of May, count Merci, who commanded them, passed the Po in the face of the allies, notwithstanding all the skill of Villars; obliged him to retreat from the banks of that river, and took the castle of Colorno: the old French general being taken ill, quitted the army, and retired to Turin, where in a little time he died; and the king of Sardinia retiring to the same place, the command of the allied forces devolved on the marshal de Coigny. The confederates were posted at Sanguina, and the imperialists at Sorbola; when the count de Merci made a motion to San Prospero, as if he intended either to attack the enemy or take possession of Parma: the marshal de Coigny forthwith made a disposition for an engagement; and, on the twenty-ninth of June, the imperial general, having passed the Parma, began the attack with great impetuosity: he charged in person at the head of his troops, and was killed soon after the battle began; nevertheless, the prince of Wirtemberg assuming the command, both armies fought with great obstinacy from eleven in the forenoon till four in the afternoon, when the imperialists retired towards Monte Cirugalo, leaving 5000 men dead on the field of battle, and among these many officers of distinction: the loss of the allies was very considerable, and they reaped no solid fruits from their victory.

21. The imperial forces retreated to Reggio, and from thence moved to the plains of Carpi, on the right of the Secchia, where they received some reinforcements: then general count Konigsegg arriving in the camp, took on himself the command of the army: his first step was to take post at Quingentolo, by which motion he secured Mirandola, that was threatened with a siege: on the fifteenth of February he forded the river Secchia, and surprised the quarters of marshal de Broglio, who escaped in his shirt with great difficulty: the French retired with such precipitation, that they left all their baggage behind, and above 2000 were taken

prisoners: they posted themselves under Guastalla, where, on the nineteenth of the month, they were vigorously attacked by the imperialists, and a general engagement ensued: Konigssegg made several desperate efforts to break the French cavalry, on which, however, he could make no impression: the infantry on both sides fought with uncommon ardor for six hours, and the field was covered with carnage: at length, the imperial general retreated to Lazara, after having lost above 5000 men, including the prince of Wirtemberg, the generals Valpareze and Colminero, with many other officers of distinction; nor was the damage sustained by the French greatly inferior to that of the Germans, who repassed the Po, and took post on the banks of the Oglio: the allies crossed the same river, and the marquis de Maillibois was sent with a detachment to attack Mirandola; but the imperialists, marching to the relief of the place, compelled him to abandon the enterprise: then he rejoined his army, which retired under the walls of Cremona, to wait for succors from Don Carlos. So little respect did the French court pay to the British nation at this juncture, that in the month of November an edict was published at Paris, commanding all the British subjects in France, who were not actually in employment, from the age of eighteen to fifty, to quit the kingdom in fifteen days, or enlist in some of the Irish regiments, on pain of being treated as vagabonds, and sent to the galleys: this edict was executed with the utmost rigor: the prisons of Paris were crowded with the subjects of Great Britain, who were surprised and cut off from all communication with their friends, and must have perished by cold and hunger, had not they been relieved by the active charity of the Jansenists. The earl of Waldegrave, who then resided at Paris as ambassador from the king of Great Britain, made such vigorous remonstrances to the French ministry on this unheard-of outrage against a nation with which they had been so long in alliance, that they thought proper to set the prisoners at liberty, and publish another edict, by which the meaning of the former was explained away.

22. While these transactions occurred on the continent, the king of Great Britain augmented his land forces; and warm contests were maintained through the whole united kingdom in electing representatives for the new parliament; but in all these struggles the ministerial power predominated, and the new members appeared with the old complexion. The two houses assembled on the fourteenth of

January, and Mr. Onslow was re-elected speaker: the leaders of both parties in all debates were the self-same persons who had conducted those of the former parliament; and the same measures were pursued in the same manner. The king, in his speech at the opening of the session, gave them to understand, that he had concerted with the States-General of the United Provinces such measures as were thought most advisable for their common safety, and for restoring the peace of Europe; that they had considered on one side the pressing applications made by the imperial court both in England and Holland, for obtaining succors against the powers at war with the house of Austria; and, on the other side, the repeated professions made by the allies of their sincere disposition to put an end to the present troubles on honorable and solid terms; that he and the States-General had concurred in a resolution to employ their joint and earnest instances to bring matters to a speedy and happy accommodation; that their good offices were at length accepted; and in a short time a plan would be offered to the consideration of all parties engaged in the war, as a basis for a general negotiation for peace: he told them he had used the power vested in him by the last parliament with great moderation, and concluded a treaty with the crown of Denmark of great importance in the present conjuncture: he observed, that whilst many of the principal powers of Europe were actually engaged in a war, Great Britain must be more or less affected with the consequences; and as the best concerted measures are liable to uncertainty, the nation ought to be prepared against all events: he therefore expressed his hope, that his good subjects would not repine at the necessary means of procuring the blessings of peace and universal tranquillity, or of putting him in a condition to act that part which it might be necessary and incumbent on him to take. The address of thanks produced a dispute as usual, which ended with an acquiescence in the motion: the house, in a grand committee on the supply, resolved, that 30,000 seamen should be employed for the service of the ensuing year; and that the land forces should be augmented to the number of 25,744 effective men: but these resolutions were not taken without dispute and division: the minister's opponents not only reproduced all the reasons which had been formerly advanced against a standing army, but they opposed this augmentation with extraordinary ardor, as a huge stride towards the establishment of arbitrary power:

they refuted those fears of external broils on which the ministry pretended to ground the necessity of such an augmentation; and they exposed the weak conduct of the administration, in having contributed to destroy the balance of power, by assisting Spain against the emperor in Italy, so as to aggrandise the house of Bourbon.

23. Sir William Wyndham moved that the estimate of the navy for the ensuing year might be referred to a select committee: he expressed his surprise, that notwithstanding the vast sums which had been yearly raised, and the long continuance of the peace, the people had not been quite delivered of any one tax incurred in the preceding war: he said, he could not comprehend how it was possible to find pretences for exposing the nation to such exorbitant charges; and he took notice of some unconscionable articles in the accounts of the navy-debt that lay on the table: he was seconded by Mr. Sandys, and supported by Sir Joseph Jekyl and Mr. Pulteney; but after some debate, the motion was carried in the negative. When the new treaty with Denmark fell under consideration in a grand committee, Mr. Horace Walpole moved, that the sum of £56,250 should be granted to his majesty, as a subsidy to the Dane, pursuant to the said treaty, for the service of the ensuing year: the demand did not meet with immediate compliance: all the leaders in the opposition exclaimed against the subsidy as unnecessary and unreasonable: they observed, that as the English had no particular interest of their own for inducing them to engage in the present war, but only the danger to which the balance of power might be exposed by that event; and as all the powers of Europe were as much, if not more interested than the English in the preservation of that balance, should it ever be really endangered they would certainly engage in its defence, without receiving any valuable consideration from Great Britain; but should the English be always the first to take the alarm on any rupture, and offer bribes and pensions to all the princes in Europe, the whole charge of preserving that balance would fall on Great Britain; every state would expect a gratification from her, for doing that which it would otherwise be obliged to do for its own preservation; even the Dutch might at last refuse to assist in trimming this balance, unless Britain should submit to make the grand pensionary of Holland a pensionary of England, and take a number of their forces into English pay. The debate having had its free course, the question

was put, and the motion approved by the majority: the ministry allowed a bill to be brought in for limiting the number of officers in the house of commons; but at the second reading it was rejected on a division, after a learned debate, in which it appeared that the opposition had gained a valuable auxiliary in the person of lord Polworth, son to the earl of Marchmont, a nobleman of elegant parts, keen penetration, and uncommon vivacity, who spoke with all the fluency and fervor of elocution.

24. The minority in the house of lords were not less vigilant and resolute in detecting and opposing every measure which they thought would redound to the prejudice of their country; but the most remarkable object that employed their attention during this session was a very extraordinary petition, subscribed by the dukes of Hamilton, Queensbury, and Montrose, the earls of Dundonald, Marchmont, and Stair, representing that undue influence had been used for carrying on the election of the sixteen peers for Scotland: the duke of Bedford, who delivered their petition to the house, proposed a day for taking it into consideration; and to this they agreed: it was afterwards moved, that the consideration of it should be adjourned to a short day, before which the petitioners should be ordered to declare whether they intended to controvert the last election of all the sixteen peers, or the election of any, and which of them: this affair was of such an unprecedented nature, that the house seemed to be divided in opinion about the manner in which they ought to proceed: the partisans of the ministry would have willingly stifled the inquiry in the beginning; but the petitioners were so strenuously supported in their claim to some notice by the earls of Chesterfield, Abingdon, and Strafford, the lords Bathurst and Carteret, that they could not dismiss it at once with any regard to decorum: the order of the house, according to the motion explained above, being communicated by the lord chancellor to the petitioners, they waited on him with a declaration, importing that they did not intend to controvert the election or return of the sixteen peers for Scotland; but they thought it their duty to lay before their lordships the evidence of such facts and undue methods as appeared to them to be dangerous to the constitution, and might in future elections equally affect the right of the present sixteen peers as that of the other peers of Scotland, if not prevented by a proper remedy: this declaration being repeated to the house, the

duke of Devonshire made a motion, that the petitioners might be ordered to lay before the house in writing instances of those undue methods and illegal practices on which they intended to proceed, and the names of the persons they suspected to be guilty: he was warmly opposed by the country party, and a long debate ensued; after which the question was carried in favor of the motion, and the order signified to the petitioners: next day their answer was read to the house to this effect: that as they had no intention to state themselves accusers, they could not take on them to name particular persons who might have been concerned in those illegal practices; but who they were would undoubtedly appear to their lordships on their taking the proper examination: nevertheless, they did humbly acquaint their lordships, that the petition was laid before them on information that the list of the sixteen peers for Scotland had been framed previous to the election by persons in high trust under the crown; that this list was shown to the peers, as a list approved by the crown; and was called the king's list, from which there was to be no variation, unless to make way for one or two particular peers, on condition they should conform to measures; that peers were solicited to vote for this list, without the liberty of making any alteration; that endeavors were used to engage peers to vote for this list by promise of pensions, and offices civil and military to themselves and relations, as well as by offers of money; that sums were given for this purpose; that pensions, offices, and releases of debts owing to the crown were actually granted to peers who concurred in voting for this list, and to their relations; that on the day of election a battalion of his majesty's troops were drawn up in the abbey-court of Edinburgh, contrary to custom, and without any apparent cause but that of overawing the electors. This answer gave rise to another violent dispute; but the majority voted it unsatisfactory, and the petition was rejected, though the resolution was clogged with a vigorous protest.

25. Notwithstanding this discouragement, the earl of Abingdon moved, [1735.] that although the petition was dismissed, an inquiry might be set on foot touching an affair of such consequence to the liberties of the kingdom. The earl of Ilay declaring his belief that no such illegal methods had been practised, the other produced a pamphlet, entitled, 'The Protests of a great Number of noble Lords, entered by them at the last Election of Peers for Scotland.' Exceptions

being taken to a pamphlet, as an object unworthy of their notice, lord Bathurst exhibited an authentic copy of those protests, extracted from the journal of that election, signed by the two principal clerks, and witnessed by two gentlemen then attending in the lobby: these were accordingly read, and plainly demonstrated the truth of the allegations contained in the petition: nothing could be more scandalous, arrogant, and shamefully flagrant than the conduct and deportment of those who acted the part of understrappers to the ministry on this occasion; but all this demonstration, adorned and enforced by the charms and energy of eloquence, was like preaching in a desert: a motion was made for adjourning, and carried in the affirmative; a protest was entered and the whole affair consigned to oblivion: divers other motions were made successively by the lords in the opposition, and rejected by the invincible power of a majority: the uninterrupted success of the ministry did not, however, prevent them from renewing the struggle as often as an opportunity offered: they disputed the continuation of the salt-tax, and the bill for enabling the king to apply the sum of £1,000,000 out of the sinking-fund for the service of the current year, though success did not attend their endeavors: they supported with all their might a bill sent up from the commons, explaining and amending an act of the Scottish parliament, for preventing wrongous imprisonment, and against undue delays in trials: this was all the natives of Scotland had in lieu of the habeas-corpus act, though it did not screen them from oppression: yet the earl of Ilay undertook to prove they were on a footing with their neighbors of England in this respect; and the bill was thrown out on a division. The session was closed on the fifteenth of May, when the king, in his speech to both houses, declared that the plan of pacification concerted between him and the States-General had not produced the desired effect: he thanked the commons for the supplies they had granted with such cheerfulness and despatch: he signified his intention to visit his German dominions; and told them he should constitute the queen regent of the realm in his absence: immediately after the prorogation his majesty embarked for Holland, in his way to Hanover.

26. By this time the good understanding between the courts of Madrid and Lisbon was destroyed by a remarkable incident: the Portuguese ambassador at Madrid having allowed his servants to rescue a criminal from the officers of

justice, all the servants concerned in that rescue were dragged from his house to prison, by the Spanish king's order, with circumstances of rigor and disgrace: his Portuguese majesty, being informed of this outrage, ordered reprisals to be made on the servants of the Spanish ambassador in Lisbon: the two ministers withdrew abruptly to their respective courts; the two monarchs expressed their mutual resentment: the king of Spain assembled a body of troops on the frontiers of Portugal, and his Portuguese majesty had recourse to the assistance of king George: Don Marcos Antonio d'Alzeveda was despatched to London, with the character of envoy extraordinary, and succeeded in his commission according to his wish. In a little time after the king's departure from England, Sir John Norris sailed from Spithead with a powerful squadron, in order to protect the Portuguese against the Spaniards; and on the ninth of June arrived at Lisbon, where he was welcomed as a deliverer: Mr. Keene, the British envoy at the court of Spain, had communicated to his catholic majesty the resolution of his master to send a powerful squadron to Lisbon, with orders to guard that coast from insults, and secure the Brazil fleet, in which the merchants of Great Britain were deeply interested: Don Joseph Patinho, minister of his catholic majesty, delivered a memorial to Mr. Keene, representing that such an expedition would affect the commerce of Spain, by intimidating foreign merchants from embarking their merchandise in the flota: but, in all probability, it prevented a rupture between the two crowns, and disposed the king of Spain to listen to terms of accommodation.

27. The powers in alliance against the house of Austria, having rejected the plan of pacification concerted by the king of Great Britain and the States-General, Mr. Walpole, ambassador at the Hague, presented a memorial to their high mightinesses, desiring they would, without loss of time, put themselves in a posture of defence by an augmentation of their forces at sea and land, that they might take such vigorous steps, in concert with Great Britain, as the future conjuncture of affairs might require: but before they would subject themselves to such expense, they resolved to make farther trial of their influence with the powers in alliance against the emperor; and conferences were renewed with the ministers of those allies. The affairs of Poland became more and more unfavorable to the interest of Stanislaus; for though a great number of the Polish

nobility engaged in a confederacy to support his claim, and made repeated efforts in his behalf, the palatine of Kiow submitted to Augustus; and even his brother, the primate, after having sustained a long imprisonment and many extraordinary hardships, was obliged to acknowledge that prince his sovereign. In Italy the arms of the allies still continued to prosper: Don Carlos landed in Sicily, and reduced the whole island, almost without opposition; while the imperialists were forced to abandon all the territories they possessed in Italy, except the Mantuan. The emperor, being equally unable to cope with the French armies on the Rhine, implored succors of the czarina, who sent 30,000 men to his assistance: this vigorous interposition, and the success of Augustus in Poland, disposed the court of Versailles to a pacification: a secret negotiation was begun between France and the house of Austria; and the preliminaries were signed without the concurrence or knowledge of Spain, Sardinia, and the maritime powers: in these articles it was stipulated, that France should restore all the conquests she had made in Germany; that the reversion of the dukedom of Tuscany should be vested in the duke of Lorraine; that Lorraine should be allotted to king Stanislaus, and after his death be united to the crown of France; that the emperor should possess the Milanese, the Mantuan, and Parma; that the king of Sardinia should enjoy Vigevano and Novara; that Don Carlos should be acknowledged king of Naples and Sicily, and retain the island of Elba, with all the Spanish territories on the coast of Tuscany; and that France should guaranty the pragmatic sanction.

28. The king of Great Britain returned from Hanover to England in the month of November, and on the fifteenth of January opened the session of parliament: on this occasion he congratulated them on the near prospect of a general peace in Europe, in consequence of the preliminary articles, in which the emperor and the king of France had agreed, and of which he had expressed his approbation, as they did not differ in any essential point from the plan of pacification which he and the States-General had offered to the belligerent powers: he told them, that he had already ordered a considerable reduction to be made in his forces both by sea and land, but at the same time observed it would be necessary to continue some extraordinary expense, until a more perfect reconciliation should be established

among the several powers of Europe. An address of thanks was unanimously voted, presented, and graciously received: after the house had received several petitions from different counties and gentlemen, complaining of undue influence in elections for members of parliament, it proceeded to consider of the supply; and Sir Charles Wager moving that 15,000 seamen should be employed for the service of the ensuing year, the proposal was approved without opposition; but this was not the case with a motion made by Mr. Pulteney, 'that the ordinary estimate of the navy should be referred to a select committee:' the ministry discouraged all such prying measures: a debate was produced, the house divided, and the motion was rejected: such was the fate of a motion for raising the supplies within the year, made by Mr. Sandys, and supported by Sir John Barnard, Mr. Willmot, and other patriots, who demonstrated that this was a speedy and practicable expedient for discharging the national debt, lowering the interest of money, reducing the price of labor, and encouraging a spirit of commerce.

29. The bill for limiting the number of officers in the house of commons was again revived: the king was empowered to borrow £600,000, chargeable on the sinking fund, for the service of the ensuing year, though this power was not easily granted; and the house resolved to lay a duty of twenty shillings per gallon on all spirituous liquors, after it had appeared to the committee, appointed for that purpose, that those spirits were pernicious to the health and morals of the people: to this resolution was added another, which amounted to a total prohibition; namely, that fifty pounds should be yearly paid to his majesty for a license to be annually taken out by every person who should vend, barter, or utter any such spirituous liquors. Mr. Walter Plumer, in a well-concerted speech, moved for the repeal of some clauses in the test-act: these he represented as a species of persecution, in which protestant dissenters were confounded with the Roman catholics and enemies to the establishment: he was sustained by lord Polworth and Mr. Heathcote; but Sir Robert Walpole was joined by Mr. Shippen against the motion, as dangerous to the established church; and the question being put, it was carried in the negative. When Sir Joseph Jekyl presented to the house, according to order, a bill founded on the resolutions they had taken against spirituous liquors [1736.], Sir Robert Walpole acquainted them, by his majesty's command, that

as the alterations proposed to be made by that bill in the duties charged on all spirituous liquors, might in a great degree affect some part of the civil-list revenues, his majesty, for the sake of remedying so great an evil as was intended by that bill to be prevented, did consent to accept any other revenue of equal value, to be settled and appropriated in lieu of his interest in the said duties: the bill was read a second time, and consigned to a committee of the whole house; but that for limiting the number of officers in the house of commons was thrown out at the second reading. Petitions against the bill touching the retail of spirituous liquors were presented by the traders to the British sugar colonies, by the merchants of Bristol and Liverpool, representing the hardships to which they would be exposed by a law which amounted to a prohibition of rum and spirits distilled from molasses: in consequence of these remonstrances, a mitigating clause was inserted in favor of the composition known by the name of punch, and distillers were permitted to exercise any other employment: the sum of £70,000 was voted for making good the deficiencies that might happen in the civil-list by this bill, which at length passed through the house, though not without reiterated disputes and warm altercation: violent opposition was likewise made to a bill for the relief of the people called quakers, who offered a petition, representing, that though from motives of conscience they refused the payment of tithes, church-rates, oblations, and ecclesiastical dues, they were exposed to grievous sufferings by prosecution in the exchequer, ecclesiastical, and other courts, to the imprisonment of their persons, and the ruin of them and their families: a bill being prepared for their relief, was read and printed; then petitions were preferred against it by the clergy of Middlesex, and of many other parts of the kingdom: counsel was heard in behalf of those petitioners, and several alterations proposed in the bill, which, after long and repeated debates, surmounted all opposition, and was sent up to the lords.

30. In the month of February the king had sent two members of the privy-council to the prince of Wales, with a message, proposing a marriage between his royal highness and the princess of Saxe-Gotha: the proposal being agreeable to the prince, the marriage was celebrated on the twenty-seventh of April: on this occasion Mr. Pulteney moved for an address of congratulation to his majesty, and was supported by Mr. George Lyttelton and Mr. William Pitt,

who seized this opportunity of pronouncing elegant panegyrics on the prince of Wales and his amiable consort : these two young members soon distinguished themselves in the house by their eloquence and superior talents. The attention of the house was afterwards converted to a bill for the preventing of smuggling ; and another for explaining the act for the more effectual preventing bribery and corruption in the election of members to serve in parliament : both made their way through the lower house, and were sent up to the lords for their concurrence. The number of land forces voted for the service of the current year was reduced to 17,704 effective men : the supplies were raised by the malt-tax and land-tax at two shillings in the pound ; additional duties on mum, cider, and perry, stamped vellum, parchment, and paper ; and by an act empowering his majesty to borrow £600,000 from the sinking-fund. In this session the parliament repealed the old statutes of England and Scotland against conjuration, witchcraft, and dealing with evil spirits : the commons likewise prepared a bill to restrain the disposition of lands in mortmain, whereby they became unalienable : against this measure petitions were presented by the two universities, the colleges of Eton, Winchester, and Westminster, and divers hospitals that subsisted by charitable donations : in favor of the universities and colleges a particular exempting clause was inserted : several other amendments were made in the bill, which passed through both houses, and obtained the royal assent. Among the acts passed in this session, was one for naturalising her royal highness the princess of Wales, and another for building a bridge across the Thames from New Palace-yard, in the city of Westminster, to the opposite shore in the county of Surrey. The points chiefly debated in the house of lords were the address of thanks for his majesty's speech, the mortmain bill, the quakers' bill, which was thrown out, and that for the prevention of smuggling, which did not pass without division and protest. On the twentieth of May the king closed the session with a speech, in which he told both houses, that a farther convention, touching the execution of the preliminaries, had been made and communicated to him by the emperor and most christian king ; and that negotiations were carrying on by the several powers engaged in the late war, in order to settle a general pacification : he expressed great concern at seeing such seeds of dissatisfaction sown among his people : he protested it

was his desire, and should be his care, to preserve the present constitution in church and state, as by law established: he recommended harmony and mutual affection among all protestants of the nation, as the great security of that happy establishment; and signified his intention to visit his German dominions: accordingly the parliament was no sooner prorogued, than he set out for Hanover, after having appointed the queen regent in his absence.

31. Such a degree of licentiousness prevailed over the whole nation, that the kingdom was filled with tumult and riots, which might have been prevented by proper regulations of the civil government in the due execution of the laws: the most remarkable of these disturbances happened at Edinburgh, on the seventh of September. John Porteous, who commanded the guard paid by that city, a man of brutal disposition and abandoned morals, had, at the execution of a smuggler, been provoked by some insults from the populace to order his men, without using the previous formalities of the law, to fire with shot among the crowd; by which precipitate order several innocent persons lost their lives: Porteous was tried for murder, convicted, and received sentence of death; but the queen, as guardian of the realm, thought proper to indulge him with a reprieve: the common people of Edinburgh resented this lenity shown to a criminal, who was the object of their detestation: they remembered that pardons had been granted to divers military delinquents in that country, who had been condemned by legal trial: they seemed to think those were encouragements to oppression; they were fired by a national jealousy; they were stimulated by the relations and friends of those who had been murdered; and they resolved to wreak their vengeance on the author of that tragedy, by depriving him of life on the very day which the judges had fixed for his execution: thus determined, they assembled in different bodies about ten o'clock at night; they blocked up the gates of the city, to prevent the admission of the troops that were quartered in the suburbs; they surprised and disarmed the town-guards; they broke open the prison-doors; dragged Porteous from thence to the place of execution; and, leaving him hanging by the neck on a dier's pole, quietly dispersed to their several habitations. This exploit was performed with such conduct and deliberation, as seemed to be the result of a plan formed by some persons of consequence; it therefore became the object of a very severe inquiry.

32. During this summer a rupture happened between the Turks and the Russians, which last reduced the city of Asoph on the Black Sea, and over-ran the greatest part of Crim Tartary: the czarina declared war against the Ottoman Porte, because the Tartars of the Crimea had made incursions on her frontiers; and when she complained of these disorders to the vizir, she received no satisfaction; besides, a large body of Tartars had, by order of that minister, marched through the Russian provinces in despite of the empress, and committed terrible havoc in their route: the emperor was obliged to engage as a party in this war, by a treaty offensive and defensive, which he had many years before concluded with the czarina: yet, before he declared himself, he joined the maritime powers in offering his mediation to the sultan, who was very well disposed to peace; but the czarina insisted on her retaining Asoph, which her forces had reduced; and this preliminary article being rejected, as dishonorable to the Ottoman empire, the court of Vienna began to make preparations for war. By this time all the belligerent powers in Italy had agreed to the preliminaries of peace concluded between the emperor and France: the duke of Lorrain had espoused the emperor's eldest daughter, the archduchess Maria Theresa, and ceded Lorrain to France, even before he succeeded to Tuscany: Don Carlos was crowned king of Sicily; Stanislaus abdicated the crown of Poland; and Augustus was universally acknowledged sovereign of that kingdom: the preliminaries were approved and accepted by the diet of the empire; the king of Spain sent orders for his troops to evacuate Tuscany; and the provinces in Italy yielded to the house of Austria. Prince Eugene, who had managed the interest of the emperor on this occasion, did not live to see the happy fruits of his negociation: he died at Vienna, in April, at the age of seventy-three, leaving behind him the character of an invincible hero and consummate politician: he was not long survived by count Staremberg, another imperial general, who ranked next to the prince in military reputation. About the same time Great Britain sustained a national loss in the death of lord chancellor Talbot, who, by his worth, probity, and acquired accomplishments had dignified the great office to which he had been raised: he died universally lamented, in the month of February, at the age of fifty-two, and was succeeded on the bench by lord Hardwicke.

33. The king being indisposed, in consequence of having

been fatigued by a very tempestuous passage from Holland, the parliament was prorogued from the twenty-first of January to the first of February, and then the session was opened by commission. The lord chancellor, as one of the peers authorised by this commission, made a speech in his majesty's name to both houses: with respect to foreign affairs, he told them, that the respective acts of cession being exchanged, and orders given for the evacuation and possession of the several countries and places by the powers concerned, according to the allotment and disposition of the preliminary articles, the great work of re-establishing the general tranquillity was far advanced; that, however, common prudence called on them to be very attentive to the final conclusion of the new settlement: he said, his majesty could not without surprise and concern observe the many contrivances and attempts carried on, in various shapes, and in different parts of the nation, tumultuously to resist and obstruct the execution of the laws, and to violate the peace of the kingdom: he observed, that the consideration of the height to which these audacious practices might rise, if not timely suppressed, afforded a melancholy prospect, and required particular attention, lest they should affect private persons in the quiet enjoyment of their property, as well as the general peace and good order of the whole. After the commons had agreed to an address, and heard counsel on some controverted elections, they proceeded to take the supply into consideration: they voted 10,000 men for the sea service: they continued for the land service the same number they had maintained in times of tranquillity, amounting to 17,704; but this measure was not adopted without opposition; the money was raised by the land and malt-taxes, reinforced with £1,000,000 granted out of the sinking-fund.

34. The chief subject of contention that presented itself in the course of this session, was a motion which Mr. Pulteney made for an address to his majesty, that he would be pleased to settle £100,000 a year on the prince of Wales: he represented that such provision was conformable to the practice of ancient times; that what he proposed had been enjoyed by his present majesty in the lifetime of his father; and that a settlement of this nature was reasonable and necessary to ascertain the independence of the apparent heir to the crown: the motion was vigorously opposed by Sir Robert Walpole, as an encroachment on the prerogative; as an officious intermeddling in the king's family affairs; and

as an effort to set his majesty and the prince at variance: but a misunderstanding, it seems, had already happened in the royal family. The minister, in the midst of his harangue, told the house, by his majesty's command, that on the preceding day the king had sent a message to the prince by several noblemen of the first quality, importing, that his majesty had given orders for settling a jointure on the princess of Wales, suitable to her high rank and dignity, which he would in a proper time lay before parliament, in order to be rendered more certain and effectual; that although his royal highness had not thought fit, by any application to his majesty, to desire that his allowance of £50,000 might be rendered less precarious, the king, to prevent the bad consequences which he apprehended might follow from the undutiful measures which his majesty was informed the prince had been advised to pursue, would grant to his royal highness, for his majesty's life, the said £50,000 per annum, to be issued out of the civil-list revenues, over and above the prince's revenues arising from the duchy of Cornwall, which his majesty thought a very competent allowance, considering his own numerous issue, and the great expense which did and must necessarily attend an honorable provision for the whole royal family; that the prince, by a verbal answer, desired their lordships to lay him with all humility at his majesty's feet; to assure him that he did, and ever should, retain the utmost duty for his royal person; that he was very thankful for any instance of his majesty's goodness to him or to the princess, and particularly for his majesty's gracious intention of settling a jointure on her royal highness; but that, as to the message, the affair was now out of his hands, and therefore he could give no answer to it; that his royal highness afterwards used many dutiful expressions towards his majesty, adding, 'indeed, my lords, it is in other hands, and I am sorry for it;' or words to that effect. Sir Robert Walpole then endeavored to demonstrate, that the annual sum of £50,000 was as much as the king could afford to allow for the prince's maintenance; and he expatiated on the bad consequences that might ensue, if the son should be rendered altogether independent of the father.

35. These suggestions did not pass unanswered: Sir Robert Walpole had asserted, that the parliament had no right to interfere in the creation or maintenance of a prince of Wales; and that in the case of Richard II. who, on the death of his father, the Black Prince, was created prince of

Wales, in consequence of an address or petition from parliament, that measure was in all probability directed by the king himself: in answer to this assertion, it was observed, that probably the king would not have been so forward in creating his grandson prince of Wales, if he had not been forced into this step by his parliament; for Edward in his old age fell into a sort of love dotage, and gave himself intirely up to the management of his mistress, Alice Pierce, and his second son, the duke of Lancaster; a circumstance, that raised a most reasonable jealousy in the Black Prince, at that time on his death-bed, who could not but be anxious about the safety and right of his only son, whom he found he was soon to leave a child in the hands of a doting grandfather, and an ambitious, aspiring uncle. The supporters of the motion observed, that the allowance of £50,000 was not sufficient to defray the prince's yearly expense, without allotting one shilling for acts of charity and munificence; and that the several deductions for land-taxes and fees reduced it to £43,000: they affirmed, that his whole income, including the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, did not exceed £52,000 a year, though, by his majesty's own regulation, the expense of the prince's household amounted to £63,000: they proved that the produce of the civil-list exceeded £900,000, a sum above £100,000 a year more than was enjoyed by his late majesty; and that, in the first year of the late king, the whole expense of his household and civil government did not much exceed £450,000 a year: they observed, that the parliament added £140,000 annually for acts of charity and bounty, together with the article of secret service-money; and allowed £100,000 for the maintenance of the prince of Wales; that the article of secret service-money had prodigiously increased in the late reign; by an account which happened to be laid before the parliament, it appeared that vast sums of money had been given for purposes which nobody understood, and to persons whom nobody knew: in the beginning of the following session several members proposed that this extraordinary account should be taken into consideration; but the inquiry was warded off by the other party, who declared that the parliament could not examine any account which had been presented to a former session: the debate was fierce and long; and ended in a division, by which the motion was rejected: a motion of the same nature was made by lord Carteret in the house of peers, and gave rise to a very keen dispute,

maintained by the same arguments, and issuing in the same termination.

36. The next remarkable contest was occasioned by a motion of Sir Robert Walpole, who proposed the sum of £1,000,000 should be granted to his majesty, towards redeeming the like sum of the increased capital of the South-Sea company, commonly called South-Sea annuities: several members argued for the expediency of applying this sum to the payment of the debt due to the Bank, as part of that encumbrance was saddled with an interest of six per cent. whereas the interest paid for the other sums that constituted the public debt did not exceed four per cent: many plausible arguments were offered on both sides of the question; and at length the motion was carried in the affirmative. The house having resolved itself into a committee to consider of the national debt, Sir John Barnard made a motion, for enabling his majesty to raise money either by the sale of annuities, or by borrowing at an interest not exceeding three per cent. to be applied towards redeeming the South-Sea annuities; and that such of the said annuitants as should be inclined to subscribe their respective annuities, should be preferred to all others: he said that even those public securities which bore an interest of three per cent. only were sold at a premium in Change-alley; he was therefore persuaded, that all those who were willing to give a premium for a three per cent. security would gladly lend their money to the government at the same interest, should books of subscription be opened for that purpose, with an assurance that no part of the principal should be paid off for fourteen years: he expatiated on the national advantages that would accrue from a reduction of interest: from easy and obvious calculations he inferred, that in a very little time the interest on all the South-Sea annuities would be reduced from four to three per cent. without any danger to public credit or breach of public faith; that then the produce of the sinking-fund would amount to £1,400,000 per annum, to be applied only towards redeeming the capital of the several trading companies: he proved that this measure would bring every one of them so much within the power of parliament, that they would be glad to accept of three per cent. interest on any reasonable terms; in which case the sinking-fund would rise to £1,600,000 per annum: then the parliament might venture to annihilate one half of it, by freeing the people from the taxes on coals, candles, soap, leather, and other

such impositions as lay heavy on the poor laborers and manufacturers; the remaining part of the sinking-fund might be applied towards the discharge of those annuities and public debts which bore an interest of three per cent. only, and afterwards towards diminishing the capitals of the several trading companies till the term of fourteen years should be expired; then the sinking-fund would again amount to above £1,000,000 yearly, which would be sufficient for paying them off, and freeing the nation intirely from all its encumbrances: this salutary scheme was violently opposed by alderman Heathcote, and other partisans of the ministry; yet all their objections were refuted; and, in order to defeat the project, they were obliged to have recourse to artifice. Mr. Winnington moved, that all the public creditors, as well as the South-Sea annuitants, should be comprehended. Sir John Barnard demonstrated, that it might be easy for the government to borrow money at three per cent. sufficient for paying off such of the proprietors of £24,000,000 as were not willing to accept of that interest; but it would be extremely difficult to borrow enough to satisfy the proprietors of £44,000,000, who might choose to have their principal rather than such an interest: nevertheless resolutions were founded on this and other alterations of the original scheme; and a bill was immediately prepared: it produced many other debates, and was at last postponed by dint of ministerial influence. The same venerable patriot, who projected the scheme, moved that as soon as the interest of all the national redeemable debt should be reduced to three per cent. the house would take off some of the heavy taxes which oppressed the poor and the manufacturers; but this motion was rejected by the majority.

37. The last disputes of this session [1737.] were excited by a bill sent down from the lords for punishing the magistrates and city of Edinburgh, on account of the murder of John Porteous. In the beginning of the session lord Carteret recapitulated the several tumults and riots which had lately happened in different parts of the kingdom: he particularly insisted on the atrocious murder of captain Porteous, as a flagrant insult on the government, and a violation of the public peace, so much the more dangerous, as it seemed to have been concerted and executed with deliberation and decency: he suspected that some citizens of Edinburgh had been concerned in the murder, not only from this circum-

stance, but likewise because, notwithstanding the reward of £200, which had been offered by proclamation for the discovery of any person who acted in that tragedy, not one individual had as yet been detected: he seemed to think that the magistrates had encouraged the riot, and that the city had forfeited its charter; and he proposed a minute inquiry into the particulars of the affair: he was seconded by the duke of Newcastle and the earl of Ilay; though this last nobleman differed in opinion from him with respect to the charter of the city, which, he said, could not be justly forfeited by the fault of the magistracy. The lords resolved, that the magistrates and other persons, from whom they might obtain the necessary information concerning this riot should be ordered to attend; and that an address should be presented to his majesty desiring that the different accounts and papers relating to the murder of captain Porteous might be submitted to the perusal of the house: these documents being accordingly examined, and all the witnesses arrived, including three Scottish judges, a debate arose about the manner in which these last should be interrogated, whether at the bar, at the table, or on the woollack: some Scottish lords asserted, that they had a right to be seated next to the judges of England; but after a long debate, this claim was rejected, and the judges of Scotland appeared at the bar in their robes. A bill was brought in to disable Alexander Wilson, Esq. lord provost of Edinburgh, from enjoying any office or place of magistracy in the city of Edinburgh, or elsewhere in Great Britain; for imprisoning the said Alexander Wilson; for abolishing the guard of that city; and for taking away the gates of the Netherbow-port, so as to open a communication between the city and suburbs, in which the king's troops were quartered. The duke of Argyle, in arguing against this bill, said he could not think of a proceeding more harsh or unprecedented than the present, as he believed there was no instance of the whole weight of parliamentary indignation (for such he called a proceeding by a bill *ex post facto*) falling on any single person, far less on any community, for crimes that were within the reach of the inferior courts of justice: for this reason, he observed, that if the lord provost and citizens of Edinburgh should suffer in the terms of the present bill, they would suffer by a cruel, unjust, and fantastical proceeding; a proceeding, of which the worst use might be made, if ever the nation should have the misfortune to fall under a partial,

self-interested administration: he told them he sat in the parliament of Scotland when that part of the treaty of union relating to the privileges of the royal burghs was settled on the same footing as religion, that is, they were made unalterable by any subsequent parliament of Great Britain. Notwithstanding the eloquence and warmth of his remonstrance, the bill was sent down to the house of commons, where it produced a violent contest: the commons set on foot a severe scrutiny into the particular circumstances that preceded and attended the murder of Porteous: from the examination of the witnesses it appeared that no freeman or citizen of Edinburgh was concerned in the riot, which was chiefly composed of country people, excited by the relations of some unhappy persons whom Porteous and his men had slain at the execution of the smuggler; and these were assisted by apprentice boys, and the lowest class of vagabonds that happened to be at Edinburgh; that the lord provost had taken all the precautions to prevent mischief that his reflection suggested; that he even exposed his person to the rage of the multitude, in his endeavor to disperse them; and that if he had done amiss, he erred from want of judgment, rather than from want of inclination to protect the unhappy Porteous: it likewise appeared, that Mr. Lindsay, member for the city of Edinburgh, had gone in person to general Moyle, commander of the forces in North Britain, informed him of the riot, implored his immediate assistance, and promised to conduct his troops into the city; and that his suit was rejected, because he could not produce a written order from the magistracy, which he neither could have obtained in such confusion, nor ventured to carry about his person through the midst of an enraged populace. The Scottish members exerted themselves with uncommon vivacity in defence of their capital: they were joined by Sir John Barnard, lord Cornbury, Mr. Shippen, and Mr. Oglethorpe. Lord Polworth declared, that if any gentleman would show where one argument in the charge against the lord provost and the city of Edinburgh had been proved, he would that instant give his vote for the commitment of the bill: he said, if gentlemen would lay their hands on their hearts, and ask themselves, whether they would have voted in this manner had the case of Edinburgh been that of the city of Bristol, York, or Norwich, he was persuaded they would have required that every tittle of the charge against them should have been fully and undeniably proved. Some

amendments and mitigations being inserted in the bill, it passed the house, was sent back to the lords, who agreed to the alterations, and then received the royal assent.

38. The next effort of the minister was obliquely levelled at the liberty of the press, which it was much for his interest to abridge: the errors of his conduct, the mystery of that corruption which he had so successfully reduced to a system, and all the blemishes of his administration had been exposed and ridiculed, not only in political periodical writings produced by the most eminent hands, but likewise in a succession of theatrical pieces, which met with uncommon success among the people: he either wanted judgment to distinguish men of genius, or could find none that would engage in his service; he therefore employed a set of wretched authors, void of understanding and ingenuity: they undertook the defence of his ministry, and answered the animadversions of his antagonists: the match was so extremely unequal, that, instead of justifying his conduct, they exposed it to additional ridicule and contempt; and he saw himself in danger of being despised by the whole nation: he resolved to seize the first opportunity to choke those canals, through which the torrent of censure had flowed on his character. The manager of a playhouse communicated to him a manuscript farce, entitled, 'The Golden Rump,' which was fraught with treason and abuse on the government, and had been presented to the stage for exhibition: this performance was produced in the house of commons: the minister descanted on the insolence, the malice, the immorality, and the seditious calumny which had been of late propagated in theatrical pieces: a bill was brought in to limit the number of playhouses, to subject all dramatic writers to the inspection of the lord chamberlain, and to compel them to take out a license for every production before it could appear on the stage: notwithstanding a vigorous opposition, this bill passed through both houses with extraordinary despatch, and obtained the royal sanction. In this debate the earl of Chesterfield distinguished himself by an excellent speech, that will ever endear his character to all the friends of genius and literature; to all those who are warmed with zeal for the liberties of their country. 'Our stage,' said he, 'ought certainly to be kept within due bounds; but, for this purpose, our laws, as they stand at present, are sufficient: if our stage players at any time exceed those bounds, they ought to be prosecuted; they may be punished:

we have precedents, we have examples, of persons punished for things less criminal than some pieces which have been lately represented: a new law must therefore be unnecessary, and in the present case it cannot be unnecessary without being dangerous: every unnecessary restraint is a fetter on the legs, is a shackle on the hands of liberty. One of the greatest blessings we enjoy, one of the greatest blessings a people can enjoy, is liberty: but every good in this life has its alloy of evil; licentiousness is the alloy of liberty: it is an ebullition, an excrescence; it is a speck on the eye of the political body, which I can never touch but with a gentle, with a trembling hand; lest I destroy the body, lest I injure the eye on which it is apt to appear. If the stage becomes at any time licentious, if a play appears to be a libel on the government or on any particular man, the king's courts are open; the law is sufficient to punish the offender: if poets and players are to be restrained, let them be restrained as other subjects are, by the known laws of their country; if they offend, let them be tried as every Englishman ought to be, by God and their country: do not let us subject them to the arbitrary will and pleasure of any one man. A power lodged in the hands of a single man to judge and determine without limitation, control, or appeal, is a sort of power unknown to our laws, inconsistent with our constitution; it is a higher, a more absolute power than we trust even to the king himself; and therefore I must think we ought not to vest any such power in his majesty's lord chamberlain.' His arguments had no effect, though the house admired his elocution; and the playhouse bill passed into a law. On the twenty-first of June the king made a short speech to both houses, and the lord chancellor prorogued the parliament.

CHAP. XVII.

GEORGE II. (CONTINUED.)—1737.

1. The Russians take Oczakow—2. Death of Gaston de Medicis, duke of Tuscany—3. Death of Caroline, queen-consort of England—4. Dispute in parliament about the standing army—5. Spanish depredations—6. Motives of the minister for avoiding a war—7. Address to the king on the subject of the depredations—8. Bill for securing the trade of his majesty's subjects in America—9. Debates in the house of lords—10. Birth of prince George. Admiral Haddock sails with a squadron to the Mediterranean—11. Progress of the war against the Turks—12. Dispute and rupture between Hanover and Denmark—13. Sir Robert Walpole extols the convention in the house of commons—14. Motion for an address, that the representations, letters, &c. relating to the Spanish depredations should be laid before the house—15. Petitions against the convention—16. Substance of that agreement—17. Debate in the house of commons on the convention—18. Secession of the chief members in the opposition—19. Debate in the house of lords on an address to his majesty touching the convention—20. Message from the throne touching a subsidy to Denmark, and a power to augment the forces of the kingdom—21. Parliament prorogued—22. The king of Spain publishes a manifesto—23. The emperor and czarina conclude a peace with the Turks—24. Preparations for war in England—25. Apology in the house of commons for the seceding members—26. Pension-bill revived and lost—27. Porto-bello taken by admiral Vernon—28. Hard frost—29. Marriage of the princess Mary to the prince of Hesse—30. Strong armament sent to the West-Indies—31. Death of the emperor and czarina—32. Proceedings in parliament—33. Seamen's bill—34. Discontents against the ministry—35. Motion for removing Sir Robert Walpole from his majesty's councils and presence for ever—36. Debate on the mutiny-bill—37. Proceedings in the house of lords—38. Close of the last session of this parliament.

1. A CONGRESS had been opened at Niemerow in Poland to compromise the differences between the czarina and the grand signor; but this proving ineffectual, the emperor declared war against the Turks, and demanded assistance from the diet of the empire: he concerted the operations of the campaign with the empress of Muscovy: it was agreed, that the imperialists, under count Seckendorf, should attack Widdin in Servia; while the Russians, commanded by count

de Munich, should penetrate to the Ukraine, and besiege Oczakow, on the Borysthenes: they accordingly advanced against this place, which was garrisoned by 20,000 men, and on the side of the Borysthenes defended by eighteen galleys: the Muscovites carried on their approaches with such impetuosity and perseverance, that the Turks were terrified at their valor, and in a few days capitulated. Among those who signalled themselves by uncommon marks of prowess in these attacks, was general Keith, afterwards field-marshal in the Prussian service, who was dangerously wounded on this occasion: meanwhile count Seckendorf, finding it impossible to reduce Widdin without a squadron of ships on the Danube, turned his arms against Nissa, which was surrendered to him on the twenty-eighth of July; but this was the farthest verge of his good fortune: the Turks attacked the post which the imperialists occupied along the Danube: they took the fort of Padudil, burned the town of Ilas in Walachia, and plundered the neighboring villages: the prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen, who had invested Bagnalack in Bosnia, was defeated, and obliged to repass the Saave: count Seckendorf was recalled to Vienna, and the command of the army devolved on count Philippi: count Kevenhuller was obliged to retreat from Servia; and Nissa was retaken by the Mussulmen: the conferences at Niemerow were broken off, and the Turkish plenipotentiaries returned to Constantinople.

2. The kingdom of Poland now enjoyed the most perfect repose under the dominion of Augustus: Ferdinand, the old duke of Courland, dying without issue, the succession was disputed by the Teutonic order and the kingdom of Poland; while the states of Courland claimed a right of election, and sent deputies to Petersburg, imploring the protection of the czarina: a body of Russian troops immediately entered that country; and the states elected the count de Biron, high-chamberlain to the empress of Muscovy. The elector of Cologne, as grand-master of the Teutonic order, protested against this election; but the king of Poland agreed to it, on certain conditions settled at Dantzic with the commissaries of the new duke and those of the czarina. In the month of July, John Gaston de Medicis, great duke of Tuscany, died at Florence; and the prince de Craon took possession of his territories in the name of the duke of Lorraine, to whom the emperor had already granted the eventual investiture of that duchy.

3. In England the attention of the public was attracted by an open breach in the royal family : the princess of Wales had advanced to the very last month of her pregnancy before the king and queen were informed of her being with child : she was twice conveyed from Hampton-court to the palace of St. James when her labor-pains were supposed to be approaching ; and at length was delivered of a princess in about two hours after her arrival. The king, being apprised of this event, sent a message by the earl of Essex to the prince, expressing his displeasure at the conduct of his royal highness, as an indignity offered to himself and the queen : the prince deprecated his majesty's anger in several submissive letters, and implored the queen's mediation : the princess joined her entreaties to those of his royal highness ; but all their humility and supplication proved ineffectual : the king, in another message sent by the duke of Grafton, observed that the prince had removed the princess twice in the week immediately preceding the day of her delivery from the place of his majesty's residence, in expectation of her labor ; and both times, on his return, industriously concealed from the knowledge of the king and queen every circumstance relating to this important affair : that at last, without giving any notice to their majesties, he had precipitately hurried the princess from Hampton-court, in a condition not to be named : that the whole tenor of his conduct, for a considerable time, had been so intirely void of all real duty to the king, that his majesty had reason to be highly offended with him : he gave him to understand, that until he should withdraw his regard and confidence from those by whose instigation and advice he was directed and encouraged in his unwarrantable behavior to his majesty and the queen, and return to his duty, he should not reside in the palace : he therefore signified his pleasure that he should leave St. James's, with all his family, when it could be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the princess : in obedience to this order, the prince retired to Kew, and made other efforts to be re-admitted into his majesty's favor, which, however, he could not retrieve. What-ever might have been his design in concealing so long from the king and queen the pregnancy of the princess, and afterwards hurrying her from place to place in such a condition, to the manifest hazard of her life, his majesty had certainly cause to be offended at this part of his conduct ; though the punishment seems to have been severe, if not rigorous ; for

he was not even admitted into the presence of the queen, his mother, to express his duty to her in her last moments, to implore her forgiveness, and receive her last blessing. She died of a mortification in her bowels, on the twentieth of November, in the fifty-fifth year of her age, regretted as a princess of uncommon sagacity, and as a pattern of conjugal virtue.

4. The king opened the session of parliament on the twenty-fourth of January, with a short speech recommending the despatch of the public business with prudence and unanimity: each house presented a warm address of condolence on the queen's death, with which he seemed to be extremely affected: though the house of commons unanimously sympathised with the king in his affliction, the minister still met with contradiction in some of his favorite measures. One would imagine that all the arguments for and against a standing army in time of peace had been already exhausted; but, when it was moved that the same number of land forces which they had voted in the preceding year should be continued in pay for the ensuing year, the dispute was renewed with surprising vivacity, and produced some reasons which had not been suggested before: the adherents of the minister fairly owned, that if the army should be disbanded, or even considerably reduced, they believed the tory interest would prevail; that the present number of forces was absolutely necessary to maintain the peace of the kingdom, which was filled with clamor and discontent, as well as to support the whig interest; and that they would vote for keeping up four times the number, should it be found expedient for that purpose. The members in the opposition replied, that this declaration was a severe satire on the ministry, whose conduct had given birth to such a spirit of discontent: they said it was in effect a tacit acknowledgement, that what they called the whig interest was no more than an inconsiderable party, which had engrossed the administration by indirect methods; which acted contrary to the sense of the nation; and depended for support on a military power, by which the people in general were overawed, and consequently enslaved: they affirmed, that the discontent, of which the ministry complained, was in a great measure owing to that very standing army, which perpetuated their taxes, and hung over their heads as the instruments of arbitrary power and oppression. Lord Polworth explained the nature of whig principles, and demon-

strated that the party, which distinguished itself by this appellation, no longer retained the maxims by which the whigs were originally characterised. Sir John Hynde Cotton, who spoke with the courage and freedom of an old English baron, declared, he never knew a member of that house, who acted on true whig principles, vote for a standing army in time of peace: 'I have heard of whigs,' said he, 'who opposed all unlimited votes of credit; I have heard of whigs, who looked on corruption as the greatest curse that could befall any nation; I have heard of whigs, who esteemed the liberty of the press to be the most valuable privilege of a free people, and triennial parliaments as the greatest bulwark of their liberties; and I have heard of a whig administration, which has resented injuries done to the trade of the nation, and revenged insults offered to the British flag.' The ministry triumphed as usual, and the same number of forces was continued.

5. Ever since the treaty of Seville, the Spaniards in America had almost incessantly insulted and distressed the commerce of Great Britain: they disputed the right of English traders to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, and gather salt on the island of Tortugas; though that right was acknowledged by implication in all the treaties which had been lately concluded between the two nations. The captains of their armed vessels, known by the name of *guarda-costas*, had made a practice of boarding and plundering British ships, on pretence of searching for contraband commodities; on which occasions they had behaved with the utmost insolence, cruelty, and rapine: some of their ships of war had actually attacked a fleet of English merchant ships at the island of Tortugas, as if they had been at open enmity with England: they had seized and detained a great number of British vessels, imprisoned their crews, and confiscated their cargoes, in violation of treaties, in defiance of common justice and humanity: repeated memorials were presented to the court of Spain by the British ambassador at Madrid: he was amused with evasive answers, vague promises of inquiry, and cédulas of instructions sent to the Spanish governors in America, to which they paid no sort of regard: not but that the Spaniards had reason to complain, in their turn, of the illicit commerce which the English traders from Jamaica and other islands carried on with their subjects on the continent of South-America; though this could not justify the depredations and cruelties which the commanders

of the guarda-costas had committed without provocation or pretence.

6. The merchants of England loudly complained of these outrages; the nation was fired with resentment, and cried for vengeance; but the minister appeared cold, phlegmatic, and timorous: he knew that a war would involve him in such difficulties as must of necessity endanger his administration: the treasure which he now employed for domestic purposes, must in that case be expended in military armaments; the wheels of that machine on which he had raised his influence would no longer move; the opposition would of consequence gain ground; and the imposition of fresh taxes, necessary for the maintenance of the war, would fill up the measure of popular resentment against his person and ministry. Moved by these considerations, he industriously endeavored to avoid a rupture, and to obtain some sort of satisfaction by dint of memorials and negotiations, in which he betrayed his own fears to such a degree, as animated the Spaniards to persist in their depredations, and encouraged the court of Madrid to disregard the remonstrances of the British ambassador: but this apprehension of war did not proceed from Spain only; the two branches of the house of Bourbon were now united by politics as well as by consanguinity; and he did not doubt, that in case of a rupture with Spain, they would join their forces against Great Britain. Petitions were delivered to the house by merchants from different parts of the kingdom, explaining the repeated violences to which they had been exposed, and imploring relief of the parliament: these were referred to a committee of the whole house; and an order was made to admit the petitioners, if they should think fit, to be heard by themselves or by counsel: Sir John Barnard moved for an address to the king, that all the memorials and papers relating to the Spanish depredations should be laid before the house; and this, with some alteration proposed by Sir Robert Walpole, was actually presented. In compliance with the request, an enormous multitude of letters and memorials was produced.

7. The house, in a grand committee, proceeded to hear counsel for the merchants, and examine evidence; by which it appeared that amazing acts of wanton cruelty and injustice had been perpetrated by Spaniards on the subjects of Great Britain. Mr. Pulteney expatiated on these circumstances of barbarity: he demonstrated, from treaties, the

right of the British traders to the logwood of Campeachy and to the salt of Tortugas; he exposed the pusillanimity of the minister, and the futility of his negotiations; he moved for such resolutions as would evince the resentment of an injured nation, and the vigor of a British parliament: these were warmly combated by Sir Robert Walpole, who affirmed, they would cramp the ministers in their endeavors to compromise these differences; that they would frustrate their negotiations, intrench on the king's prerogative, and precipitate the nation into an unnecessary and expensive war: answers produced replies, and a general debate ensued: a resolution was reported; but the question being put for recommitting it, was carried in the negative: the house however agreed to an address, beseeching his majesty to use his endeavors to obtain effectual relief for his injured subjects; to convince the court of Spain that his majesty could no longer suffer such constant and repeated insults and injuries to be carried on to the dishonor of his crown and to the ruin of his trading subjects; and assuring him, that in case his royal and friendly instances with the catholic king should miscarry, the house would effectually support his majesty in taking such measures as honor and justice should make it necessary for him to pursue. To this address the king made a favorable answer.

8. The next important subject on which both sides exercised their talents, was a bill prepared and brought in by Mr. Pulteney, for the more effectual securing the trade of his majesty's subjects in America [1738.]: this was no other than the revival of part of two acts passed in the reign of queen Anne, by which the property of all prizes taken from the enemy was vested in the captors; while the sovereign was empowered to grant commissions or charters to any persons or societies, for taking any ships, goods, harbors, lands, or fortifications of the nation's enemies in America, and for holding and enjoying the same as their own property and estate for ever. The ministry endeavored to evade the discussion of this bill, by amusing the house with other business, until an end should be put to the session: a mean artifice was practised with this view, and some severe altercation passed between Sir Robert Walpole and Mr. Pulteney: at length the bill was read, and gave rise to a very long and warm contest, in which the greatest orators of both sides found opportunities to display their eloquence and satire: Mr. Pulteney defended the bill with

all the ardor of paternal affection ; but, notwithstanding his warmest endeavors, it was rejected on a division.

9. When the mutiny-bill was sent up to the house of lords, a long debate arose on the number of troops voted for the ensuing year. Lord Carteret explained the situation of affairs, in almost every nation of Europe, with great conciseness and precision : he demonstrated the improbability of a rupture between Great Britain and any power against which a land army could be of any service : he examined the domestic circumstances of the nation ; and proved, that whatever discontents there might be in the kingdom, there was little or no disaffection, and no seeming design to overturn or disturb the government : in answer to an argument, that such a number of regular forces was necessary for preventing or quelling tumults, and for enabling the civil magistrate to execute the laws of his country, he expressed his hope that he should never see the nation reduced to such unfortunate circumstances : he said, a law which the civil power was unable to execute, must either be in itself oppressive, or such a one as afforded a handle for oppression. In arguing for a reduction of the forces, he took notice of the great increase of the national expense : he observed, that before the revolution, the people of England did not raise above £2,000,000 for the whole of the public charge ; but now what was called the current expense, for which the parliament annually provided, exceeded that sum ; besides the civil list, the interest due to the public creditors, and the sinking-fund, which, added together, composed a burden of £6,000,000 yearly. The earl of Chesterfield, on the same subject, affirmed that slavery and arbitrary power were the certain consequences of keeping up a standing army for any number of years : it is the machine by which the chains of slavery are riveted on a free people : they may be secretly prepared by corruption ; but, unless a standing army protected those that forged them, the people would break them asunder, and chop off the polluted hands by which they were prepared : by degrees a free people must be accustomed to be governed by an army ; by degrees that army must be made strong enough to hold them in subjection : England had for many years been accustomed to a standing army, under pretence of its being necessary to assist the civil power ; and by degrees the number and strength of it have been increasing : at the accession of the late king it did not exceed 6000 ; it soon amounted to double that number, which has been

since augmented under various pretences : he therefore concluded, that slavery, under the disguise of an army for protecting the liberties of the people, was creeping in on them by degrees ; if no reduction should be made, he declared he should expect in a few years to hear some minister, or favorite of a minister, terrifying the house with imaginary plots and invasions ; and making the tour of Europe in search of possible dangers, to show the necessity of keeping up a mercenary standing army three times as numerous as the present. In spite of these suggestions, the standing army maintained its ground. The same noblemen, assisted by lord Bathurst, distinguished themselves in a debate on the Spanish depredations, which comprehended the same arguments that were used in the house of commons : they met with the same success in both : resolutions equivalent to those of the lower house were taken ; an address was presented ; and his majesty assured them he would repeat, in the most pressing manner, his instances at the court of Spain in order to obtain satisfaction and security for his subjects trading to America : this assurance was renewed in his speech at the close of the session, on the twentieth of May, when the parliament was prorogued.

10. At this period the princess of Wales was delivered of a son, who was baptised by the name of George, afterwards king of Great Britain : his birth was celebrated with uncommon rejoicings ; addresses of congratulation were presented to the king by the two universities, and by almost all the cities and communities of the kingdom : but the prince of Wales still labored under the displeasure of his majesty, who had ordered the lord chamberlain to signify in the Gazette, that no person who visited the prince should be admitted to the court of St. James : his royal highness was divested of all the external marks of royalty, and lived like a private gentleman, cultivating the virtues of social life, and enjoying the best fruits of conjugal felicity. In the latter end of this month, rear-admiral Haddock set sail with a strong squadron for the Mediterranean, which it was hoped would give weight to the negociation of the British minister at the court of Madrid. The act to discourage the retail of spirituous liquors had incensed the populace to such a degree, as occasioned numberless tumults in the cities of London and Westminster : they were so addicted to the use of that pernicious compound, known by the appellation of gin or geneva, that they ran all risks rather than forego it

intirely ; and so little regard was paid to the law by which it was prohibited, that in less than two years 12,000 persons within the bills of mortality were convicted of having sold it illegally : nearly one half of that number were cast in the penalty of £100 ; and 3000 persons paid ten pounds each, for an exemption from the disgrace of being committed to the house of correction.

11. The war maintained by the emperor and the czarina against the Ottoman Porte had not yet produced any decisive event : count Seckendorf was disgraced and confined on account of his ill success in the last campaign : general Doxat was tried by a council of war at Belgrade, and condemned to death, for having surrendered to the enemy the town of Nissa, in which he commanded : the diet of the empire granted a subsidy of fifty Roman months to the emperor, who began to make vigorous preparations for the ensuing campaign ; but, in the mean time, Ragotski, vaivode of Transylvania, revolted against the house of Austria, and brought a considerable army into the field, under the protection of the grand signor : he was immediately proclaimed a rebel, and a price set on his head by the court of Vienna. The Turks, taking the field early, reduced the fort of Usitzza and Meadia, and undertook the siege of Orsova, which however they abandoned at the approach of the imperial army, commanded by the grand duke of Tuscany, assisted by count Konigsegg : the Turks, being reinforced, marched back, and attacked the imperialists, by whom they were repulsed after an obstinate engagement : the Germans, notwithstanding this advantage, repassed the Danube ; and then the infidels made themselves masters of Orsova, where they found a fine train of artillery, designed for the siege of Widdin : by the conquest of this place, the Turks laid the Danube open to their galleys and vessels, and the Germans retired under the cannon of Belgrade. In the Ukraine, the Russians, under general count Munich, obtained the advantage over the Turks in two engagements ; and general Lacy routed the Tartars of the Crimea : but they returned in greater numbers, and harassed the Muscovites in such a manner, by intercepting their provisions and destroying the country, that they were obliged to abandon the lines of Precops.

12. In the month of October, an affair of very small importance produced a rupture between the king of Denmark and the elector of Hanover. A detachment of Hanoverians

took by assault the castle of Steinhorst, belonging to the privy-counsellor Wederkop, and defended by thirty Danish dragoons, who had received orders to repel force by force: several men were killed on both sides, before the Hanoverians could enter the place; when the garrison was disarmed, and conducted to the frontiers. This petty dispute, about a small territory which did not yield the value of £1000 a year, had well nigh involved Hanover in a war, which, in all probability, Great Britain must have maintained; but this dispute was compromised by a convention between the kings of England and Denmark.

13. The session of parliament was opened on the first of February, when the king, in his speech to both houses, gave them to understand that a convention was concluded and ratified between him and the king of Spain, who had obliged himself to make reparation to the British subjects for their losses by certain stipulated payments: the plenipotentiaries were named and appointed for regulating, within a limited time, all those grievances and abuses which had hitherto interrupted the commerce of Great Britain in the American seas; and for settling all matters in dispute in such a manner, as might for the future prevent and remove all new causes and pretences of complaint. The motion for an address of approbation was disputed as usual: though the convention was not yet laid before the house, the nature of it was well known to the leaders of the opposition. Sir William Wyndham observed, that if the ministry had made the resolutions taken by the parliament in the last session the foundation of their demands; if they had discovered a resolution to break off all treating, rather than depart from the sense of parliament; either a defensive treaty might have been obtained, or by this time the worst would have been known: but, by what appeared from his majesty's speech, the convention was no other than a preliminary; and in all probability a very bad preliminary: he supposed the minister had ventured to clothe some of his creatures with full powers to give up the rights of the nation; for they might do it if they durst. Sir Robert Walpole, in answer to these suggestions, affirmed, that the ministry had on this occasion obtained more than ever on like occasions was known to be obtained; that they had reconciled the peace of their country with her true interest; that this peace was attended with all the advantages that the most successful arms could have procured; that future ages would

consider this as the most glorious period of our history, and do justice to the councils that produced the happy event, which every gentleman divested of passion and prejudice was ready to do, and which, he believed, the present age, when rightly informed, would not refuse: in a word, he extolled his own convention with the most extravagant encomiums.

14. The house resolved to address the king, that copies of all the memorials, representations, letters, and papers, presented to his majesty or his secretary of state, relating to depredations, should be submitted to the perusal of the house; but some members in the opposition were not contented with this resolution: then Mr. Sandys, who may be termed the Motion-maker, moved for an address, desiring that the house might inspect all letters written and instructions given by the secretaries of state, or commissioners of the admiralty, to any of the British governors in America, or any commander in chief, or captains of his majesty's ships of war, or his majesty's minister at the court of Spain, or any of his majesty's consuls in Europe, since the treaty of Seville, relating to the losses which the British subjects had sustained by means of depredations committed by the subjects of Spain in Europe and America: this was an unreasonable proposal, suggested by the spirit of animosity and faction. Mr. Horace Walpole justly observed, that a compliance with such an address might lay open the most private transactions of the cabinet, and discover secrets that ought, for the good of the kingdom, to be concealed: it would discover to the court of Spain the *ultimatum* of the king's demands and concessions; and the nation would thereby be deprived of many advantages which it might reap, were no such discovery made: he said, that as soon as the differences betwixt the two courts should arrive at such a crisis, and not before, the consuls were instructed to give notice to the merchants, that they might retire in time with their effects; but should such instruction come to the knowledge of the Spaniards, it would be a kind of watch-word to put them on their guard, and unavoidably occasion the ruin of many thousands of British subjects: certain it is, no government could act either in external or domestic affairs with proper influence, dignity, and despatch, if every letter and instruction relating to an unfinished negotiation should be exposed to the view of such a numerous assembly, composed of individuals actuated by motives in themselves diametrically

opposite. The motion being rejected by the majority, the same gentleman moved again for an address, that his majesty would give directions for laying before the house copies of such memorials or representations as had been made either to the king of Spain or to his ministers since the treaty of Seville, relating to the depredations committed in Europe or America. A debate ensued; and, on a division, the question passed in the negative.

15. The house, in a committee of supply, voted 12,000 seamen for the service of the ensuing year; and the standing army was continued without reduction, though powerfully attacked by the whole strength of the opposition: the commons likewise ordered an address to his majesty, for the copies of several memorials since the treaty of Seville, touching the rights of Great Britain, or any infraction of treaties which had not been laid before them: these were accordingly submitted to the inspection of the house. By this time the convention itself was not only presented to the commons, but also published for the information of the people: divers merchants, planters, and others trading to America, the cities of London and Bristol, the merchants of Liverpool, and owners of sundry ships which had been seized by the Spaniards, offered petitions against the convention, by which the subjects of Spain were so far from giving up their groundless and unjustifiable practice of visiting and searching British ships sailing to and from the British plantations, that they appeared to have claimed the power of doing it as a right; for they insisted that the differences which had arisen concerning it should be referred to plenipotentiaries, to be discussed by them without even agreeing to abstain from such visitation and search during the time that the discussion of this affair might last: they therefore prayed that they might have an opportunity of being heard, and allowed to represent the great importance of the British trade to and from the plantations in America; the clear indisputable right which they had to enjoy it, without being stopped, visited, or searched by the Spaniards, on any pretence whatsoever; and the certain inevitable destruction of all the riches and strength derived to Great Britain from that trade, if a search of British ships sailing to and from their own plantations should be tolerated on any pretext or under any restrictions, or even if the freedom of this navigation should continue much longer in a state of uncertainty: these petitions were referred to the committee

appointed to consider of the convention. Another remonstrance was likewise presented by the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia, setting forth that the king of Spain claimed that colony as part of his territories; and that by the convention, the regulation of the limits of Carolina and Florida was referred to the determination of plenipotentiaries; so that the colony of Georgia, which undoubtedly belonged to the crown of Great Britain, was left in dispute, while the settlers remained in the most precarious and dangerous situation: it was moved that the merchants should be heard by their counsel; but the proposal was strenuously opposed by the ministry, and rejected on a division.

16. This famous convention, concluded at the Prado, on the fourteenth of January, imported, that within six weeks, to be reckoned from the day on which the ratifications were exchanged, two ministers plenipotentiaries should meet at Madrid, to confer and finally regulate the respective pretensions of the two crowns with relation to the trade and navigation in America and Europe, and to the limits of Florida and Carolina, as well as concerning other points which remained likewise to be adjusted, according to the former treaties subsisting between the two nations: that the plenipotentiaries should finish their conferences within the space of eight months: that in the mean time no progress should be made in the fortifications of Florida and Carolina: that his catholic majesty should pay to the king of Great Britain the sum of £95,000, for a balance due to the crown and subjects of Great Britain, after deduction made of the demands of the crown and subjects of Spain: that this sum should be employed for the satisfaction, discharge, and payment of the demands of the British subjects on the crown of Spain: that this reciprocal discharge however should not extend or relate to the accounts and differences which subsisted and were to be settled between the crown of Spain and the assiento company, nor to any particular or private contracts that might subsist between either of the two crowns, or their ministers, with the subjects of the other, or between the subjects of each nation respectively: that his catholic majesty should cause the sum of £95,000 to be paid at London within four months, to be reckoned from the day on which the ratifications were exchanged. Such was the substance of that convention, which alarmed and provoked the merchants and traders of Great Britain, excited the

indignation of all those who retained any regard for the honor of their country, and raised a general cry against the minister who stood at the helm of administration.

17. The eyes of the whole kingdom were now turned on the house of commons: the two contending parties summoned their whole force for the approaching dispute: on the day appointed for considering the convention 400 members had taken their seats by eight in the morning: in a committee of the whole house, certain West-India merchants and planters were heard against the convention; so that this and the following day were employed in reading papers and obtaining information. On the eighth of March, Mr. Horace Walpole, having launched out in the praise of that agreement, moved for an address of approbation to his majesty: he was seconded by Mr. Campbell, of Pembrokeshire; and the debate began with extraordinary ardor. He who first distinguished himself in the lists was Sir Thomas Sanderson, at that time treasurer to the prince of Wales, afterwards earl of Scarborough: all the officers and adherents of his royal highness had joined the opposition; and he himself on this occasion sat in the gallery to hear the debate on such an important transaction. Sir Thomas Sanderson observed, that the Spaniards by the convention, instead of giving us reparation, had obliged us to give them a general release: they had not allowed the word satisfaction to be so much as once mentioned in the treaty: even the Spanish pirate, who had cut off the ear of captain Jenkins,¹

¹ Captain Jenkins was master of a Scottish merchant ship: he was boarded by the captain of a Spanish guarda-costa, who treated him in the most barbarous manner: the Spaniards, after having rummaged his vessel for what they called contraband commodities, without finding any thing to justify their search, insulted Jenkins with the most opprobrious invectives: they tore off one of his ears, bidding him carry it to his king, and tell him they would serve him in the same manner should an opportunity offer; they tortured him with the most shocking cruelty, and threatened him with immediate death. This man was examined at the bar of the house of commons; and being asked by a member what he thought when he found himself in the hands of such barbarians; 'I recommended my soul to God,' said he, 'and my cause to my country.' The behavior of this brave seaman, the sight of his ear, which was produced, with his account of the indignities which had been offered to the nation and sovereign of Great Britain, filled the whole house with indignation. Jenkins was afterwards employed in the service of the East-India company; he approved himself worthy of his good fortune in a long

and used the most insulting expression towards the person of the king; (an expression which no British subject should decently repeat—an expression which no man that had a regard for his sovereign could ever forgive) even this fellow lived to enjoy the fruits of his rapine, and remained a living testimony of the cowardly tameness and mean submission of Great Britain; of the triumphant haughtiness and stubborn pride of Spain. Lord Gage, one of the most keen, spirited, and sarcastic orators in the house, stated in this manner the account of the satisfaction obtained from the court of Spain by the convention: the losses sustained by the Spanish depredations amounted to £340,000; the commissary, by a stroke of his pen, reduced this demand to £200,000; then £45,000 were struck off for prompt payment; he next allotted £60,000 as the remaining part of a debt pretended to be due to Spain, for the destruction of her fleet by Sir George Byng, though it appeared by the instructions on the table that Spain had been already amply satisfied on that head: these deductions reduced the balance to £95,000; but the king of Spain insisted on the South-Sea company paying immediately the sum of £68,000, as a debt due to him on one head of accounts, though in other articles his catholic majesty was indebted to the company a million over and above the demand: the remainder to be paid by Spain did not exceed £27,000, from which she insisted on deducting whatever she might have already given in satisfaction for any of the British ships that had been taken; and on being allowed the value of the *St. Theresa*, a Spanish ship which had been seized in the port of Dublin. Mr. W. Pitt, with an energy of argument and diction peculiar to himself, declaimed against the convention, as insecure, unsatisfactory, and dishonorable to Great Britain: he said, the great national objection, the searching of British ships, was not admitted indeed in the preamble; but stood there as the reproach of the whole, as the strongest evidence of the fatal submission that followed: on the part of Spain, a usurpation, an inhuman tyranny claimed and exercised over the American seas; on the part of England, an undoubted right by treaties, and from God and nature declared and asserted in the resolutions of parliament, were now referred to the

engagement with the pirate *Angria*, during which he behaved with extraordinary courage and conduct; and saved his own ship, with three others that were under his convoy.

discussion of plenipotentiaries on one and the same equal footing : this undoubted right was to be discussed and regulated ; and if to regulate be to prescribe rules, as in all construction it is, that right was, by the express words of the convention, to be given up and sacrificed ; for it must cease to be any thing from the moment it is submitted to limitation. Mr. Lyttelton, with equal force and fluency, answered the speech of Mr. Horace Walpole. ' After he had used many arguments to persuade us to peace,' said he, ' to any peace, good or bad, by pointing out the dangers of a war, dangers I by no means allow to be such as he represents them ; he crowned all those terrors with the name of the pretender : it would be the cause of the pretender : the pretender would come. Is the honorable gentleman sensible what this language imports ? The people of England complain of the greatest wrongs and indignities ; they complain of the interruption, the destruction of their trade ; they think the peace has left them in a worse condition than before ; and in answer to all these complaints, what are they told ? Why, that their continuing to suffer all this is the price they must pay to keep the king and his family on the throne of these realms : if this were true, it ought not to be owned ; but it is far from truth ; the very reverse is true : nothing can weaken the family, nothing shake the establishment, but such measures as these, and such language as this.' He affirmed that if the ministers had proceeded conformably to the intentions of parliament, they would either have acted with vigor, or have obtained a real security in an express acknowledgement of our right not to be searched as a preliminary, *sine qua non*, to our treating at all : instead of this, they had referred it to plenipotentiaries. ' Would you, sir,' said he, ' submit to a reference, whether you may travel unmolested from your house in town to your house in the country ? Your right is clear and undeniable ; why would you have it discussed ? but much less would you refer it, if two of your judges belonged to a gang which has often stopped and robbed you in your way thither before.' The ministers, in vindication of the convention, asserted that the satisfaction granted by Spain was adequate to the injury received ; that it was only the preliminary of a treaty which would remove all causes of complaint ; that war was always expensive and detrimental to a trading nation, as well as uncertain in its events ; that France and Spain would certainly join their forces in case of a rupture

with Great Britain ; that there was not one power in Europe on which the English could depend for effectual assistance ; and that war would favor the cause and designs of a popish pretender. The house, on a division, agreed to the address ; but when a motion was made for its being recommitted, the two parties renewed the engagement with redoubled eagerness and impetuosity : Sir William Wyndham and Mr. Pulteney poured all the thunder of their eloquence against the insolence of Spain, and the concessions of the British ministry ; Sir Robert Walpole exerted all his fortitude and dexterity in defence of himself and his measures ; and the question being put, the resolutions for the address were carried by a small majority.

18. Then Sir William Wyndham, standing up, made a pathetic remonstrance on this determination. 'This address,' said he, 'is intended to convince mankind, that the treaty under our consideration is a reasonable and an honorable treaty : but if a majority of twenty-eight in such a full house should fail of that success ; if the people should not implicitly resign their reason to a vote of this house ; what will be the consequence ? Will not the parliament lose its authority ? Will it not be thought, that even in the parliament we are governed by a faction ? and what the consequence of this may be, I leave to those gentlemen to consider, who are now to give their vote for this address : for my own part, I will trouble you no more ; but, with these my last words, I sincerely pray to Almighty God, who has so often wonderfully protected these kingdoms, that he will graciously continue his protection over them, by preserving us from that impending danger which threatens the nation from without, and likewise from that impending danger which threatens our constitution from within.' The minister was on this occasion deserted by his usual temper, and even provoked into personal abuse : he declared, that the gentleman who was now the mouth of his opponents had been looked on as the head of those traitors, who twenty-five years before conspired the destruction of their country and of the royal family, in order to set a popish pretender on the throne ; that he was seized by the vigilance of the then government, and pardoned by its clemency ; but all the use he had ungratefully made of that clemency, was to qualify himself according to law, that he and his party might some time or other have an opportunity to overthrow all law : he branded them all as traitors, and expressed his hope that

their behavior would unite all the true friends of the present happy establishment : to such a degree of mutual animosity were both sides inflamed, that the most eminent members of the minority actually retired from parliament, and were by the nation in general revered as martyrs to the liberty of the people.

19. The dispute occasioned by the convention in the house of lords was maintained with equal warmth, and perhaps with more abilities : after this famous treaty had been considered, lord Carteret suggested, that possibly one of the contracting powers had presented a protest or declaration, importing that she acceded to such or such a measure, only on condition that the terms of that protest or declaration should be made good : he said, that until his mind should be free from the most distant suspicion that such a paper might exist in the present case, he could not form a just opinion of the transaction himself, or communicate to their lordships any light which might be necessary for that purpose : the adherents to the ministry endeavored to evade his curiosity in this particular by general assertions ; but he insisted on his suspicion with such perseverance, that at length the ministry produced the copy of a declaration made by the king of Spain before he ratified the convention, signifying that his catholic majesty reserved to himself, in its full force, the right of being able to suspend the *assiento* of negroes, in case the company should not pay within a short time the sum of £68,000 sterling owing to Spain on the duty of negroes, or on the profit of the ship *Caroline* : that under the validity and force of this protest, the signing of the said convention might be proceeded on, and in no other manner. In the debate that ensued, lord Carteret displayed a surprising extent of political knowledge, recommended by all the graces of elocution, chaste, pure, dignified, and delicate : lord Bathurst argued against the articles of convention with his usual spirit, integrity, and good sense, particularly animated by an honest indignation which the wrongs of his country had inspired : the earl of Chesterfield attacked this inglorious measure with all the weight of argument and all the poignancy of satire : the duke of Argyle, no longer a partisan of the ministry, inveighed against it as infamous, treacherous, and destructive, with all the fire, impetuosity, and enthusiasm of declamation. It was defended with unequal arms by the duke of Newcastle, the earl of Cholmondeley, lord Hervey, the lord chancellor, the bishop of Salisbury,

and in particular by the earl of Ilay, a nobleman of extensive capacity and uncommon erudition, remarkable for his knowledge of the civil law, and seemingly formed by nature for a politician; cool, discerning, plausible, artful, and enterprising; staunch to the minister, and invariably true to his own interest: the dispute was learned, long, and obstinate; but ended, as usual, in the discomfiture of those who had stigmatised the treaty. The house agreed to an address, in which they thanked his majesty for his gracious condescension in laying before them the convention: they acknowledged his great prudence in bringing the demands of his subjects for their past losses, which had been so long depending, to a final adjustment; in procuring an express stipulation for a speedy payment; in laying a foundation for accomplishing the great and desirable ends of obtaining future security; and preserving the peace between the two nations: they declared their confidence in his royal wisdom, that in the treaty to be concluded in pursuance of the convention, proper provisions would be made for the redress of the grievances, of which the nation had so justly complained: they assured his majesty, that in case his just expectations should not be answered, the house would heartily and zealously concur in all such measures as should be necessary to vindicate his majesty's honor, and to preserve to his subjects the full enjoyment of all those rights to which they were entitled by treaty and the law of nations. This was a hard-won victory: at the head of those who voted against the address we find the prince of Wales: his example was followed by six dukes, two and twenty earls, four viscounts, eighteen barons, four bishops; and their party was reinforced by sixteen proxies: a spirited protest was entered and subscribed by nine and thirty peers, comprehending all the noblemen of the kingdom who were most eminent for their talents, integrity, and virtue.

20. A message having been delivered to the house from his majesty [1739.], importing that he had settled £39,000 per annum on the younger children of the royal family, and desiring their lordships would bring in a bill to enable his majesty to make that provision good out of the hereditary revenues of the crown, some lords in the opposition observed that the next heir to the crown might look on this settlement as a mortgage of his revenue, which a parliament had no power to make; that formerly no daughter of the royal family was ever provided for by parliament except the

eldest, and that never was by way of annuity, but an express provision of a determinate sum of money paid by way of dowry: these objections were over-ruled, and the house complied with his majesty's request: then the duke of Newcastle produced a subsidy-treaty, by which his majesty obliged himself to pay to the king of Denmark £70,000 per annum, on condition of the Dane's furnishing to his Britannic majesty a body of 6000 men when demanded: at the same time his grace delivered a message from the king, desiring the house would enable him to fulfil this engagement; and also to raise what money and troops the exigency of affairs, during the approaching recess, might require. Another vehement dispute arose from this proposal: with respect to the treaty, lord Carteret observed, that no use could be made of the Danish troops in any expedition undertaken against Spain, because it was stipulated in the treaty, that they should not be used either in Italy, or on board of the fleet, or be transported in whole or in part beyond sea, after they should have marched out of the territories of Denmark, except for the defence of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland: nay, should France join against the English, the Danes could not act against that power or Spain, except as part of an army formed in Germany or Flanders: this body of Danes may be said therefore to have been retained for the defence and protection of Hanover; or, if the interest of Britain was at all consulted in the treaty, it must have been in preventing the Danes from joining their fleets to those of France and Spain. Then he argued against the second part of the message with great vivacity: he said, nothing could be more dangerous to the constitution than a general and unlimited vote of credit: such a demand our ancestors would have heard with amazement, and rejected with scorn: he affirmed that the practice was but of modern date in England; that it was never heard of before the revolution, and never became frequent until the nation was blessed with the present wise administration: he said, if ever a general vote of credit and confidence should become a customary compliment from the parliament to the crown at the end of every session, or as often as the minister might think fit to desire it, parliaments would grow despicable in the eyes of the people; then a proclamation might be easily substituted in its stead, and happy would it be for the nation if that should be sufficient; for when a parliament ceases to be a check on ministers, it becomes a useless and

unnecessary burden on the people: the representatives must always be paid some way or other: if their wages are not paid openly and surely by their respective constituents, as they were formerly, a majority of them may in future times be always ready to accept of wages from the administration, and these must come out of the pockets of the people. The duke of Argyle and the earl of Chesterfield enlarged on the same topics: nevertheless, the house complied with the message; and presented an address, in which they not only approved of the treaty with Denmark, but likewise assured his majesty they would concur with his measures, and support him in fulfilling his engagements, as well as in making such farther augmentation of his forces by sea and land, as he should think necessary for the honor, interest, and safety of these kingdoms.

21. The same message being communicated to the commons, they voted £70,583 for the subsidy to Denmark, and £500,000 for augmenting the forces on any emergency. As Great Britain stood engaged by the convention to pay the crown of Spain the sum of £60,000 in consideration of the ships taken and destroyed by Sir George Byng, which sum was to be applied to the relief of the British merchants who had suffered by the Spanish depredations, the commons inserted in a bill a clause, providing for this sum to be paid by the parliament: when the bill was read in the house of lords a motion was made by lord Bathurst for an address, to know whether Spain had paid the money stipulated by the convention, as the time limited for the payment of it was now expired: the duke of Newcastle, by his majesty's permission, acquainted the house that it was not paid, and that Spain had as yet given no reason for the non-payment: then a day was appointed to consider the state of the nation, when lord Carteret moved for a resolution, that the failure of Spain in this particular was a breach of the convention, a high indignity to his majesty, and an injustice to the nation; but, after a warm debate, this motion was over-ruled by the majority. The minister, in order to atone in some measure for the unpopular step he had taken in the convention, allowed a salutary law to pass for the encouragement of the woollen manufacture; and two bills in behalf of the sugar colonies, one permitting them, for a limited time, to export their produce directly to foreign parts under proper restrictions; and the other making more effectual provisions for securing the duties laid on the importation of foreign

sugars, rum, and molasses into Great Britain and his majesty's plantations in America. The supplies being voted, the funds established, and the crown gratified in every particular, the king closed the session with a speech on the fourteenth of June, when the chancellor, in his majesty's name, prorogued the parliament.³

22. Letters of marque and reprisal were granted against the Spaniards, a promotion was made of general-officers, the troops were augmented, a great fleet was assembled at Spithead, a reinforcement sent out to admiral Haddock, and an embargo laid on all merchant ships outward bound: notwithstanding these preparations of war, Mr. Keene, the British minister at Madrid, declared to the court of Spain, that his master, although he had permitted his subjects to make reprisals, would not be understood to have broken the peace; and that this permission would be recalled as soon as his catholic majesty should be disposed to make the satisfaction which had been so justly demanded: he was given to understand that the king of Spain looked on those reprisals as acts of hostility; and that he hoped, with the assistance of Heaven and his allies, he should be able to support a good cause against his adversaries: he published a manifesto in justification of his own conduct, complaining that admiral Haddock had received orders to cruise with his squadron between the capes St. Vincent and St. Mary, in order to surprise the Assogue ships; that letters of reprisal had been published at London in an indecent style, and even carried into execution in different parts of the world:

³ Among the laws enacted in the course of this session was an act against gaming, which had become universal through all ranks of people, and likely to prove destructive of all morals, industry, and sentiment: another bill passed, for granting a reward to Joanna Stevens, on her discovering, for the benefit of the public, a nostrum for the cure of persons afflicted with the stone; a medicine, which has by no means answered the expectations of the legislature.

In the house of lords complaint was made by lord Delawar of a satire, entitled *Manners*, written by Mr. Whitehead; in which some characters of distinction were severely lashed in the true spirit of poetry: it was voted a libel; a motion was made to take the author into custody; but he having withdrawn himself, the resentment of the house fell on R. Dodsley, the publisher of the work, who was committed to the usher of the black rod, though lord Carteret, the earl of Abingdon, and lord Talbot spoke in his behalf.

he excused his non-payment of the £95,000 stipulated in the convention, by affirming that the British court had first contravened the articles of that treaty, by the orders sent to Haddock ; by continuing to fortify Georgia ; by reinforcing the squadron at Jamaica ; and by eluding the payment of the £68,000 due to Spain from the South-Sea company, on the *assiento* for negroes. The French ambassador at the Hague declared that the king his master was obliged by treaties to assist his catholic majesty by sea and land, in case he should be attacked ; he dissuaded the States-General from espousing the quarrel of Great Britain ; and they assured him they would observe a strict neutrality, though they could not avoid furnishing his Britannic majesty with such succors as he could demand, by virtue of the treaties subsisting between the two powers. The people of England were inspired with uncommon alacrity at the near prospect of war, for which they had so long clamored ; and the ministry, seeing it unavoidable, began to be earnest and effectual in their preparations.

23. The events of war were still unfavorable to the emperor : he had bestowed the command of his army on field-marshal count Wallis, who assembled his forces in the neighborhood of Belgrade ; and advanced towards Crotzka, where he was attacked by the Turks with such impetuosity and perseverance, that he was obliged to give ground, after a long and obstinate engagement, in which he lost above 6000 men : the earl of Crawford, who served as a volunteer in the imperial army, signalised his courage in an extraordinary manner on this occasion ; and received a dangerous wound, of which he never perfectly recovered : the Turks were afterwards worsted at Jabouka ; nevertheless, their grand army invested Belgrade on the side of Serbia, and carried on the operations of the siege with extraordinary vigor : the emperor, dreading the loss of this place, seeing his finances exhausted, and his army considerably diminished, consented to a negotiation for peace, which was transacted under the mediation of the French ambassador at the Ottoman Porte : the count de Neuperg, as imperial plenipotentiary, signed the preliminaries on the first of September : they were ratified by the emperor, though he pretended to be dissatisfied with the articles, and declared that his minister had exceeded his powers. By this treaty the house of Austria ceded to the grand signor, Belgrade, Sabatz, Serbia, Austrian Walachia, the isle and fortress of Orsova, with the

fort of St. Elizabeth; and the contracting powers agreed that the Danube and the Saave should serve as boundaries to the two empires. The emperor published a circular letter, addressed to his ministers at all the courts of Europe, blaming count Wallis for the bad success of the last campaign, and disowning the negotiations of count Neuperg; nay, these two officers were actually disgraced, and confined in different castles: this however was no other than a sacrifice to the resentment of the czarina, who loudly complained that the emperor had concluded a separate peace, contrary to his engagements with the Russian empire: her general, count Munich, had obtained a victory over the Turks at Choczim in Moldavia, and made himself master of that place, in which he found 200 pieces of artillery; but the country was so ruined by the incursions of the Tartars, that the Muscovites could not subsist in it during the winter: the czarina, finding herself abandoned by the emperor, and unable to cope with the whole power of the Ottoman empire, took the first opportunity of putting an end to the war on honorable terms: after a short negotiation, the conferences ended in a treaty, by which she was left in possession of Asoph, on condition that its fortifications should be demolished; and the ancient limits were re-established between the two empires.

24. A rupture between Great Britain and Spain was now become inevitable: the English squadron in the Mediterranean had already made prize of two rich Caracca ships; the king had issued orders for augmenting his land forces, and raising a body of marines; and a great number of ships of war were put in commission: admiral Vernon had been sent to the West-Indies, to assume the command of the squadron in those seas, and to annoy the trade and settlements of the Spaniards. This gentleman had rendered himself considerable in the house of commons, by loudly condemning all the measures of the ministry, and bluntly speaking his sentiments, whatever they were, without respect of persons, and sometimes without any regard to decorum: he was counted a good officer; and this boisterous manner seemed to enhance his character: as he had once commanded a squadron in Jamaica, he was perfectly well acquainted with those seas; and in a debate on the Spanish depredations, he chanced to affirm that Porto Bello on the Spanish main might be easily taken; nay, he even undertook to reduce it with six ships only: this offer was echoed from the mouths

of all the members in the opposition : Vernon was extolled as another Drake or Raleigh ; he became the idol of a party, and his praise resounded from all corners of the kingdom. The minister, in order to appease the clamors of the people on this subject, sent him as commander in chief to the West-Indies : he was pleased with an opportunity to remove such a troublesome censor from the house of commons ; and, perhaps, he was not without hope that Vernon would disgrace himself and his party by failing in the exploit he had undertaken. His catholic majesty having ordered all the British ships in his harbors to be seized and detained, the king of England would keep measures with him no longer, but denounced war against him on the twenty-third of October : many English merchants began to equip privateers, and arm their trading vessels, to protect their own commerce, as well as to distress that of the enemy. The session of parliament was opened in November, when the king, in his speech to both houses, declared that he had augmented his forces by sea and land, pursuant to the power vested in him by parliament, for the security of his dominions, the protection of trade, and the annoyance of the enemy ; and he expressed his apprehension, that the heats and animosities, which had been industriously fomented throughout the kingdom, encouraged Spain to act in such a manner as rendered it necessary for him to have recourse to arms. In answer to this speech, affectionate addresses were presented by both houses without any considerable opposition.

25. The seceding members had again resumed their seats in the house of commons ; and Mr. Pulteney thought proper to vindicate the extraordinary step which they had taken : he said, they thought that step was necessary, as affairs then stood, for clearing their characters to posterity from the imputation of sitting in an assembly where a determined majority gave a sanction to measures evidently to the disgrace of his majesty and the nation : he observed, that their conduct was so fully justified by the declaration of war against Spain, that any farther vindication would be superfluous ; for every assertion contained in it had been almost in the same words insisted on by those who opposed the convention : ' Every sentence in it,' added he, ' is an echo of what was said in our reasonings against that treaty ; every positive truth which the declaration lays down was denied with the utmost confidence by those who spoke for the convention ; and since that time, there has not one

event happened which was not then foreseen and foretold.' He proposed, that in maintaining the war, the Spanish settlements in the West-Indies should be attacked, and that the ministry should not have the power to give up the conquests that might be made: he said he heartily wished, for his majesty's honor and service, that no mention had been made of heats and animosities in the king's speech; and gave it as his opinion, that they should take no notice of that clause in their address: he was answered by Sir Robert Walpole, who took occasion to say, he was in no great concern lest the service of his majesty or the nation should suffer by the absence of those members who had quitted the house: he affirmed, the nation was generally sensible, that the many useful and popular acts which passed towards the end of the last session were greatly forwarded and facilitated by the secession of those gentlemen; and, if they were returned only to oppose and perplex, he should not be at all sorry to see them secede again.

26. Mr. Pulteney revived the bill which he had formerly prepared for the encouragement of seamen: after a long dispute and eager opposition by the ministry, it passed both houses, and obtained the royal assent. Mr. Sandys, having observed that there could be no immediate use for a great number of forces in the kingdom, and explained how little service could be expected from raw and undisciplined men; proposed an address to the king, desiring that the body of marines should be composed of draughts from the old regiments; that as few officers should be appointed as the nature of the case would permit; and he expressed his hope, that the house would recommend this method to his majesty, in tender compassion to his people, already burdened with many heavy and grievous taxes: this scheme was repugnant to the intention of the ministry, whose aim was to increase the number of their dependents, and extend their parliamentary interest, by granting a great number of commissions: the proposal was therefore, after a long debate, rejected by the majority: motions were made for an inquiry into the conduct of those who concluded the convention, but they were over-ruled: the pension-bill was revived, and so powerfully supported by the eloquence of Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Pulteney, and Mr. Lyttelton, that it made its way through the commons to the upper house, where it was again lost on a division, after a very long debate. As the seamen of the kingdom expressed uncommon aversion to

the service of the government, and the fleet could not be manned without great difficulty, the ministry prepared a bill, which was brought in by Sir Charles Wager, for registering all seamen, watermen, fishermen, and lightermen throughout his majesty's dominions: had this bill passed into a law, a British sailor would have been reduced to the most abject degree of slavery: had he removed from a certain district allotted for the place of his residence, he would have been deemed a deserter, and punished accordingly: he must have appeared, when summoned, at all hazards, whatever might have been the circumstances of his family, or the state of his private affairs: had he been encumbered with debt, he must either have incurred the penalties of this law, or lain at the mercy of his creditors: had he acquired by industry, or received by inheritance, an ample fortune, he would have been liable to be torn from his possessions, and subjected to hardships which no man would endure but from the sense of fear or indigence. The bill was so vigorously opposed by Sir John Barnard and others, as a flagrant encroachment on the liberties of the people, that the house rejected it on the second reading.

27. The king having by message communicated to the house his intention of disposing the princess Mary in marriage to prince Frederic of Hesse, and expressing his hope that the commons would enable him to give a suitable portion to his daughter, they unanimously resolved to grant £40,000 for that purpose; and presented an address of thanks to his majesty, for having communicated to the house this intended marriage. On the thirteenth of March a ship arrived from the West-Indies, despatched by admiral Vernon, with an account of his having taken Porto Bello, on the isthmus of Darien, with six ships only, and demolished all the fortifications of the place: the Spaniards acted with such pusillanimity on this occasion, that their forts were taken almost without bloodshed: the two houses of parliament joined in an address of congratulation on this success of his majesty's arms; and the nation in general was wonderfully elated by an exploit which was magnified much above its merit. The commons granted every thing the crown thought proper to demand: they provided for 28,000 land forces, besides 6000 marines; they enabled his majesty to equip a very powerful navy; they voted the subsidy to the king of Denmark; and they empowered their sovereign to defray

certain extraordinary expenses not specified in the estimates : to answer these uncommon grants, they imposed a land-tax of four shillings in the pound, and enabled his majesty to deduct £1,200,000 from the sinking-fund ; in a word, the expense of the war during the course of the ensuing year amounted to about £4,000,000. The session was closed on the twenty-ninth of April, when the king thanked the commons for the supplies they had so liberally granted, and recommended union and moderation to both houses.

28. During the greatest part of this winter, the poor had been grievously afflicted in consequence of a severe frost, which began at Christmas, and continued till the latter end of February, 1740 : the river Thames was covered with such a crust of ice, that a multitude of people dwelt on it in tents, and a great number of booths were erected for the entertainment of the populace : the navigation was intirely stopped ; the watermen and fishermen were disabled from earning a livelihood ; the fruits of the earth were destroyed by the cold, which was so extreme, that many persons were chilled to death ; and this calamity was the more deeply felt, as the poor could not afford to supply themselves with coals and fuel, which were advanced in price in proportion to the severity and continuance of the frost : the lower class of laborers, who worked in the open air, were now deprived of all means of subsistence ; many kinds of manufacture were laid aside, because it was found impracticable to carry them on ; the price of all sorts of provision rose almost to a dearth ; even water was sold in the streets of London. In this season of distress, many wretched families must have perished by cold and hunger, had not those of opulent fortunes been inspired with a remarkable spirit of compassion and humanity : nothing can more redound to the honor of the English nation, than did those instances of benevolence and well-conducted charity which were then exhibited : the liberal hand was not only opened to the professed beggar, and the poor that owned their distress ; but uncommon pains were taken to find out and relieve those more unhappy objects, who from motives of false pride or ingenuous shame endeavored to conceal their misery : these were assisted almost in their own despite : the solitary habitations of the widow, the fatherless, and the unfortunate were visited by the beneficent, who felt for the woes of their fellow creatures ; and, to such as refused to receive a

portion of the public charity, the necessaries of life were privately conveyed, in such a manner as could least shock the delicacy of their dispositions.

29. In the beginning of May the king of Great Britain set out for Hanover, after having appointed a regency, and concerted vigorous measures for distressing the enemy: in a few days after his departure, the spousals of the princess Mary were celebrated by proxy, the duke of Cumberland representing the prince of Hesse; and in June the princess embarked for the continent: about the same time, a sloop arrived in England with despatches from admiral Vernon, who, since his adventure at Porto Bello, had bombarded Carthagena, and taken the fort of San Lorenzo, on the river of Chagre, in the neighborhood of his former conquest. This month was likewise marked by the death of his Prussian majesty, a prince by no means remarkable for great or amiable qualities: he was succeeded on the throne by Frederic, his eldest son, the late king of that realm, who has so eminently distinguished himself as a warrior and legislator. In August, the king of Great Britain concluded a treaty with the landgrave of Hesse, who engaged to furnish him with a body of 6000 men for four years, in consideration of an annual subsidy of 250,000 crowns.

30. Meanwhile preparations of war were vigorously carried on by the ministry in England: they had wisely resolved to annoy the Spaniards in their American possessions: three ships of war, cruising in the bay of Biscay, fell in with a large Spanish ship of the line strongly manned, and took her after a very obstinate engagement; but the Assogue ships arrived, with the treasure, in Spain, notwithstanding the vigilance of the English commanders, who were stationed in a certain latitude to intercept that flota. One camp was formed on Hounslow-heath; and 6000 marines lately levied were encamped on the isle of Wight, in order to be embarked for the West-Indies. Intelligence being received, that a strong squadron of Spanish ships of war waited at Ferrol for orders to sail to their American settlements, Sir John Norris sailed with a powerful fleet from Spithead to dispute their voyage, and the duke of Cumberland served in person as a volunteer in this expedition; but, after divers fruitless efforts, he was, by contrary winds, obliged to lie inactive for the greatest part of the summer in Torbay; and, on advice that the French and Spanish squadrons had sailed to the West-Indies

in conjunction, the design against Ferrol was wholly laid aside. In September, a small squadron of ships, commanded by commodore Anson, set sail for the South-Sea, in order to act against the enemy on the coast of Chili and Peru, and co-operate occasionally with admiral Vernon across the isthmus of Darien: the scheme was well laid, but ruined by unnecessary delays and unforeseen accidents: but the hopes of the nation centred chiefly in a formidable armament designed for the northern coast of New Spain, and his catholic majesty's other settlements on that side of the Atlantic: commissions had been issued for raising a regiment of four battalions in the English colonies of North-America, that they might be transported to Jamaica, and join the forces from England: these, consisting of the marines, and detachments from some old regiments, were embarked in October at the isle of Wight, under the command of lord Cathcart, a nobleman of approved honor, and great experience in the art of war; and they sailed under convoy of Sir Chaloner Ogle, with a fleet of seven and twenty ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, and tenders: they were likewise furnished with hospital-ships, and store-ships, laden with provision, ammunition, all sorts of warlike implements, and every kind of convenience: never was an armament more completely equipped, and never had the nation more reason to hope for extraordinary success.

31. On the twentieth of October, Charles VI. emperor of Germany, the last prince of the house of Austria, died at Vienna, and was succeeded in his hereditary dominions by his eldest daughter, the archduchess Maria Theresa, married to the grand duke of Tuscany: though this princess succeeded as queen of Hungary, by virtue of the pragmatic sanction guarantied by all the powers in Europe, her succession produced such contests as kindled a cruel war in the empire: the young king of Prussia was no sooner informed of the emperor's death, than he entered Silesia at the head of 20,000 men; seized certain fiefs to which his family laid claim; and published a manifesto, declaring that he had no intention to contravene the pragmatic sanction: the elector of Bavaria refused to acknowledge the archduchess as queen of Hungary and Bohemia; alleging, that he himself had pretensions to those countries, as the descendant of the emperor Ferdinand I. who was head of the German branch of the house of Austria. Charles VI. was survived but a few days by his ally, the czarina Anne Iwanowna, who died

in the forty-fifth year of her age, after having bequeathed her crown to Iwan, or John, the infant son of her niece, the princess Anne of Mecklenburg, who had been married to Antony Ulrick, duke of Brunswick Luneburg-Bevern: she appointed the duke of Courland regent of the empire, and even guardian of the young czar, though his own parents were alive; but this disposition was not long maintained.

32. The king of Great Britain having returned to England from his German dominions, the session of parliament was opened in November. His majesty assured them, on this occasion, that he was determined to prosecute the war vigorously, even though France should espouse the cause of Spain, as her late conduct seemed to favor this supposition: he took notice of the emperor's death, as an event which in all likelihood would open a new scene of affairs in Europe; he therefore recommended to their consideration the necessary supplies for putting the nation in such a posture that it should have nothing to fear from any emergency: finally, he desired them to consider of some proper regulations for preventing the exportation of corn, and for more effectual methods to man the fleet at this conjuncture. The commons, after having voted an address of thanks, brought in a bill for prohibiting the exportation of corn and provisions, for a limited time, out of Great Britain, Ireland, and the American plantations: this was a measure calculated to distress the enemy, who were supposed to be in want of these necessities: the French had contracted for a very large quantity of beef and pork in Ireland for the use of their own and of the Spanish navy; and an embargo had been laid on the ships of that kingdom. The bill met with a vigorous opposition; yet the house unanimously resolved that his majesty should be addressed to lay an immediate embargo on all ships laden with corn, grain, starch, rice, beef, pork, and other provisions, to be exported to foreign parts: they likewise resolved that the thanks of the house should be given to vice-admiral Vernon for the services he had done to his king and country in the West-Indies. One William Cooley was examined at the bar of the house, and committed to prison, after having owned himself author of a paper, entitled, 'Considerations on the Embargo on Provision of Victual:' the performance contained many shrewd and severe animadversions on the government, for having taken a step, which, without answering the purpose of distressing the enemy, would prove a grievous discouragement.

ment to trade, and ruin all the graziers of Ireland : notwithstanding the arguments used in this remonstrance, and several petitions that were presented against the corn-bill, it passed by mere dint of ministerial influence : the other party endeavored by various motions to set on foot an inquiry into the orders, letters, and instructions which had been sent to admiral Vernon and admiral Haddock ; but all such investigations were carefully avoided.

33. A very hot contest arose from a bill which the ministry brought in under the specious title of 'a bill for the encouragement and increase of seamen, and for the better and speedier manning his majesty's fleet : ' this was a revival of the oppressive scheme which had been rejected in the former session ; a scheme, by which the justices of the peace were empowered to issue warrants to constables and headboroughs, to search by day or night for such seafaring men as should conceal themselves within their respective jurisdictions : those searchers were vested with authority to force open doors in case of resistance, and encouraged to this violence by a reward for every seaman they should discover ; while the unhappy wretches so discovered were dragged into the service, and their names entered in a register to be kept at the navy or the admiralty-office. Such a plan of tyranny did not pass uncensured : every exceptionable clause produced a warm debate, in which Sir John Barnard, Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Sandys, lord Gage, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Lyttelton signalled themselves nobly in defending the liberties of their fellow-subjects. Mr. Pitt, having expressed a laudable indignation at such a large stride towards despotic power, in justification of which nothing could be urged but the plea of necessity, Mr. Horace Walpole thought proper to attack him with some personal sarcasms : he reflected on his youth, and observed that the discovery of truth was very little promoted by pompous diction and theatrical emotion : these insinuations exposed him to a severe reply : Mr. Pitt, standing up again, said, ' he would not undertake to determine whether youth could be justly imputed to any man as a reproach ; but he affirmed, that the wretch, who after having seen the consequences of repeated errors, continues still to blunder, and whose age has only added obstinacy to stupidity, is surely the object of either abhorrence or contempt, and deserves not that his gray head should secure him from insults : much more is he to be abhorred, who, as he has advanced in age

has receded from virtue, and becomes more wicked with less temptation; who prostitutes himself for money which he cannot enjoy, and spends the remains of his life in the ruin of his country.' Petitions were presented from the city of London, and county of Gloucester, against the bill, as detrimental to the trade and navigation of the kingdom, by discouraging rather than encouraging sailors, and destructive to the liberties of the subject; but they were both rejected as insults on the house of commons: after very long debates, maintained on both sides with extraordinary ardor and emotion, the severe clauses were dropped, and the bill passed with amendments.

34. But the most remarkable incident of this session was an open and personal attack on the minister, who was become extremely unpopular all over the kingdom: the people were now more than ever sensible of the grievous taxes under which they groaned, and saw their burdens daily increasing: no effectual attempt had as yet been made to annoy the enemy: expensive squadrons had been equipped, had made excursions, and returned without striking a blow: the Spanish fleet had sailed first from Cadiz, and then from Ferrol, without any interruption from admiral Haddock, who commanded the British squadron in the Mediterranean, and who was supposed to be restricted by the instructions he had received from the ministry, though in fact his want of success was owing to accident: admiral Vernon had written from the West-Indies to his private friends, that he was neglected, and in danger of being sacrificed: notwithstanding the numerous navy which the nation maintained, the Spanish privateers made prize of the British merchant ships with impunity: in violation of treaties, and in contempt of that intimate connexion which had been so long cultivated between the French and English ministry, the king of France had ordered the harbor and fortifications of Dunkirk to be repaired; his fleet had sailed to the West-Indies, in conjunction with that of Spain; and the merchants of England began to tremble for Jamaica: finally, commerce was in a manner suspended by the practice of pressing sailors into the service, and by the embargo which had been laid on ships in all the ports of Great Britain and Ireland. These causes of popular discontent, added to other complaints which had been so long repeated against the minister, exaggerated and inculcated by his enemies with unwearied industry, at length rendered him so universally odious, that his name was

seldom or never mentioned with decency, except by his own dependents.

35. The country party in parliament seized this opportunity of vengeance: Mr. Sandys went up to Sir Robert Walpole in the house, and told him that on Friday next he should bring a charge against him in public: the minister seemed to be surprised at this unexpected intimation; but, after a short pause, thanked him politely for this previous notice, and said he desired no favor, but fair play.³ Mr. Sandys, at the time which he had appointed for this accusation, stood up, and in a studied speech entered into a long deduction of the minister's misconduct: he insisted on the discontents of the nation in consequence of the measures which had been for many years pursued at home and abroad: he professed his belief that there was not a gentleman in the house who did not know that one single person in the administration was the chief, if not the sole adviser and promoter of all those measures: 'this,' added he, 'is known without doors as well as within; therefore the discontents, the reproaches, and even the curses of the people are all directed against that single person: they complain of present measures; they have suffered by past measures; they expect no redress; they expect no alteration or amendment whilst he has a share in directing or advising our future administration: these, sir, are the sentiments of the people in regard to that minister; these sentiments we are in honor and duty bound to represent to his majesty; and the proper method for doing this, as established by our constitution, is to address his majesty to remove him from his councils.' He then proceeded to explain the particulars of the minister's misconduct in the whole series of his negotiations abroad: he charged him with having endeavored to support his own interest, and to erect a kind of despotic government, by the practice of corruption; with having betrayed the interest and honor of Great Britain in the late convention; with having neglected to prosecute the war against Spain; and he concluded with a motion for an address to the king, that he would be pleased to remove Sir Robert Walpole from his presence and

³ On this occasion he misquoted Horace: 'As I am not conscious of any crime,' said he, 'I do not doubt of being able to make a proper defence: *Nil conscire sibi, nulli pallescere culpa.*' He was corrected by Mr. Pulteney, but insisted on his being in the right; and actually laid a wager on the justness of his quotation.

councils for ever: he was answered by Mr. Pelham, who undertook to defend or excuse all the measures which the other had condemned; and acquitted himself as a warm friend and unshaken adherent: against this champion Sir John Barnard entered the lists, and was sustained by Mr. Pulteney, who with equal spirit and precision pointed out and exposed all the material errors and mal-practices of the administration. Sir Robert Walpole spoke with great temper and deliberation in behalf of himself: with respect to the article of bribery and corruption, he said if any one instance had been mentioned; if it had been shown that he ever offered a reward to any member of either house, or ever threatened to deprive any member of his office or employment, in order to influence his voting in parliament, there might have been some ground for this charge; but when it was so generally laid, he did not know what he could say to it, unless to deny it as generally and as positively as it had been asserted. Such a declaration as this in the hearing of so many persons, who not only knew, but subsisted by his wages of corruption, was a strong proof of the minister's being dead to all sense of shame and regard to veracity: the debate was protracted by the court members till three o'clock in the morning; when about sixty of the opposite party having retired, the motion was rejected by a considerable majority.

36. A bill was brought in for prohibiting the practice of ensuring ships belonging to the enemies of the nation; but it was vigorously opposed by Sir John Barnard and Mr. Willimot, who demonstrated that this kind of traffic was advantageous to the kingdom; and the scheme was dropped. Another warm contest arose on a clause of the mutiny-bill, relating to the quartering of soldiers on innkeepers and publicans, who complained of their being distressed in furnishing those guests with provisions and necessities at the rates prescribed by law or custom: there were not wanting advocates to expatiate on the nature of this grievance, which however was not redressed. A new trade was at this time opened with Persia, through the dominions of the czar, and vested with an exclusive privilege in the Russian company by an act of parliament. The commons voted 40,000 seamen for the service of the ensuing year, and about 30,000 men for the establishment of land forces: they provided for the subsidies granted to the king of Denmark and the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; and took every step which was

suggested for the ease and the convenience of the government.

37. The parties in the house of lords were influenced by the same motives which actuated the commons: the duke of Argyle, who had by this time resigned all his places, declared open war against the ministry: in the beginning of the session, the king's speech was no sooner reported by the chancellor, than this nobleman stood up, and moved that a general address of thanks should be presented to his majesty, instead of a recapitulation of every paragraph of the king's speech, re-echoed from the parliament to the throne, with expressions of blind approbation, implying a general concurrence with all the measures of the minister: he spoke on this subject with an astonishing impetuosity of eloquence, that rolled like a river which had overflowed its banks and deluged the whole adjacent country: the motion was supported by lord Bathurst, lord Carteret, the earl of Chesterfield, and lord Gower, who, though they displayed all the talents of oratory, were outvoted by the opposite party, headed by the duke of Newcastle, the earl of Cholmondeley, lord Hervey, and the lord chancellor: the motion was rejected, and the address composed in the usual strain. The same motions for an inquiry into orders and instructions, which had miscarried in the lower house, were here repeated with the same bad success: in the debates which ensued the young earls of Halifax and Sandwich acquired a considerable share of reputation for the strength of argument and elocution with which they contended against the adherents of the ministry: when the house took into consideration the state of the army, the duke of Argyle, having harangued with equal skill and energy on military affairs, proposed that the forces should be augmented by adding new levies to the old companies, without increasing the number of officers; as such an augmentation served only to debase the dignity of the service, by raising the lowest of mankind to the rank of gentlemen; and to extend the influence of the minister by multiplying his dependents: he therefore moved for a resolution, that the augmenting the army by raising regiments, as it is the most unnecessary and most expensive method of augmentation, was also the most dangerous to the liberties of the nation: this proposal was likewise overruled, after a short though warm contention: this was the fate of all the other motions made by the lords in the opposition, though the victory of the courtiers was always

clogged with a nervous and spirited protest. Two days were expended in the debate produced by lord Carteret's motion for an address, beseeching his majesty to remove Sir Robert Walpole from his presence and councils for ever [1741.]: the speech that ushered in this memorable motion would not have disgraced a Cicero: it contained a retrospect of all the public measures which had been pursued since the revolution: it explained the nature of every treaty, whether right or wrong, which had been concluded under the present administration: it described the political connexions subsisting between the different powers in Europe: it exposed the weakness, the misconduct, and the iniquity of the minister, both in his foreign and domestic transactions: it was embellished with all the ornaments of rhetoric, and warmed with a noble spirit of patriotic indignation. The duke of Argyle, lord Bathurst, and his other colleagues, seemed to be animated with uncommon fervor, and even inspired, by the subject: a man of imagination, in reading their speeches, will think himself transported into the Roman senate before the ruin of that republic: nevertheless, the minister still triumphed by dint of numbers, though his victory was dearly purchased: thirty peers entered a vigorous protest; and Walpole's character sustained such a rude shock from this opposition, that his authority seemed to be drawing near a period. Immediately after this contest was decided, the duke of Marlborough moved for a resolution, that any attempt to inflict any kind of punishment on any person, without allowing him an opportunity to make his defence, or without any proof of any crime or misdemeanor committed by him, is contrary to natural justice, the fundamental laws of the realm, and the ancient established usage of parliament; and is a high infringement of the liberties of the subject: it was seconded by the duke of Devonshire and lord Lovel; and opposed by lord Gower, as an intended censure on the proceedings of the day: this sentiment was so warmly espoused by lord Talbot, who had distinguished himself in the former debate, that he seemed to be transported beyond the bounds of moderation: he was interrupted by the earl of Cholmondeley, who charged him with having violated the order and decorum which ought to be preserved in such an assembly: his passion was inflamed by this rebuke; he declared himself an independent lord; a character which he would not forfeit for the smiles of a court, the profit of an

employment, or the reward of a pension : he said, when he was engaged on the side of truth, he would trample on the insolence that should command him to suppress his sentiments. On a division, however, the motion was carried.

38. In the beginning of April, the king, repairing to the house of peers, passed some acts that were ready for the royal assent ; then, in his speech to both houses, he gave them to understand that the queen of Hungary had made a requisition of the 12,000 men stipulated by treaty, and that he had ordered the subsidy-troops of Denmark and Hesse-Cassel to be in readiness to march to her assistance : he observed, that in this complicated and uncertain state of affairs, many incidents might arise, and render it necessary for him to incur extraordinary expenses for maintaining the pragmatic sanction at a time when he could not possibly have recourse to the advice and assistance of his parliament : he therefore demanded of the commons such a supply as might be requisite for these ends, and promised to manage it with all possible frugality. The lower house, in their address, approved of all his measures ; declared they would effectually support him against all insults and attacks that might be made on any of his territories, though not belonging to the crown of Great Britain ; and that they would enable him to contribute, in the most effectual manner, to the support of the queen of Hungary. Sir Robert Walpole moved that an aid of £200,000 should be granted to that princess. Mr. Shippen protested against any interposition in the affairs of Germany : he expressed his dislike of the promise which had been made to defend his majesty's foreign dominions ; a promise, in his opinion, inconsistent with that important and inviolable law, the act of settlement ; a promise, which, could it have been foreknown, would perhaps have for ever precluded from the succession that illustrious family, to which the nation owed such numberless blessings, such continued felicity : the motion however passed, though not without farther opposition ; and the house resolved that £300,000 should be granted to his majesty to enable him effectually to support the queen of Hungary : towards the expense of this year, £1,000,000 was deducted from the sinking-fund, and the land-tax continued at four shillings in the pound : the preparations for this war had already cost £5,000,000. The session was closed on the twenty-fifth of April, when the king took his leave

of this parliament with warm expressions of tenderness and satisfaction: Henry Bromley, Stephen Fox, and John Howe, three members of the lower house, who had signalled themselves in defence of the minister, were now ennobled, and created barons of Montford, Ilchester, and Chedworth: a camp was formed near Colchester; and the king, having appointed a regency, set out in May for his German dominions.⁴

⁴ Sir William Wyndham died the preceding year, deeply regretted as an orator, a patriot, and a man; the constant assertor of British liberty, and one of the chief ornaments of the English nation: in the course of the same year, general Oglethorpe, governor of Georgia, had, with some succors obtained from the colony of Carolina, and a small squadron of king's ships, made an attempt on Fort Augustine, the capital of Spanish Florida, and actually reduced some small forts in the neighborhood of the place; but the Carolinians withdrawing in disgust, dissensions prevailing among the sea-officers, the hurricane months approaching, and the enemy having received a supply and reinforcement, he abandoned the enterprise, and returned to Georgia.

END OF VOL VIII.

